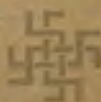


skin pigmentation is deeper, sometimes almost black. The Papuans of New Guinea have hair which is black, frizzled, and long, assuming in the mass the appearance of mops, but individuals with woolly hair and others with wavy hair are also to be met with. In Melanesia hair is usually frizzled, but true woolly hair is much more abundant than in New Guinea. The hair of the extinct Tasmanians was black and woolly. Among the aborigines of Australia wavy hair is the prevalent form, but in certain areas, particularly in the south, individuals with curly, almost frizzled, hair are still not uncommon. Perhaps the most outstanding of the physical characteristics of the Australasian are the lowness of his forehead and the prominence and strength of his supraorbital ridges, particularly in the natives of the mainland and also of Melanesia. The nose is usually low and wide, but among Papuans it may be prominent and hooked. Jaws are strongly fashioned, especially the lower jaw. As is the case in Africa and Indo-Asia, long-headedness prevails throughout, although focuses of round-headedness do occur. The mean volume of brain is a little lower than in the two other divisions of the pigmented zone. Taking him all in all, the Australian aborigine represents better than any other living form the generalized features of primitive humanity. Throughout the whole of Australasia evolutionary units take the form of tribes or of village communities.

In this essay we have seen the reason for dividing the total area of the Old World into five major areas, each of which is inhabited by a particular type of humanity. We may now ask ourselves: "How has such an arrangement come about?" "Why is each distinctive stock of mankind confined to one particular region of the earth?" If we believe, as many authorities do, that man, from his earliest stage of evolution, has been a nomad and a wanderer, that human communities have always been on the move from one part of the earth to another, everywhere meeting and mingling their genes, then we can offer no explanation of regional differentiation of races. But if we accept the theory of group evolution, which implies that from the very beginning human groups were attached to their territories and moved from them only when numbers increased and new homes had to be found, or when compelled to shift because of the aggression of stronger neighbours, then an explanation can be given. Regionalization

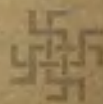


of race is in conformity with, and gives support to, the theory of group evolution.

In the essay which follows we shall assume that Africa was the original cradle of humanity, and proceed to ascertain how far this assumption is justified by the racial characters to be observed in each of the five primary divisions of mankind.

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- ⁷ *Handbook of Tanganyika Territory*, 1930.
- ⁸ See under reference 4, ch. III.
- ⁹ See under reference 4, p. 187.
- ¹⁰ Round-headedness is very uncommon among native peoples of Africa and of India. Lesser degrees of it occur among peoples of the Nile-Congo watershed (Keane, p. 79) and in peoples of the Cameroons. Most of the round-headed peoples of India have been derived from outside sources.
- ¹¹ Dr. Gordon Harrower of Singapore found that the mean brain volume of men of South China was 1,496 c.c., while that of Tamils of India was 1,350 c.c.
- ¹² Hutton, J. H., *Caste in India*, 1946; Keith, Sir A., *Essays on Human Evolution*, 1946, p. 189.
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THE AFRICAN THEORY APPLIED TO EXPLAIN THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RACIAL TYPES OF MANKIND

Synopsis.—The African Theory assumes that the Dartians were dark skinned and carried the genes responsible for melanin production to all parts of the Old World. The evidence on which this assumption is based. Why the inhabitants of the southern zone retained the power to form melanin, and why this power was lost to a greater or less degree by those of the northern zone. The distribution of woolly, frizzled, wavy, and straight hair; difficulties in explaining this distribution. The difficulties are no less if we assume the centre of dispersal to have been, not Africa, but India. To explain the distribution of pygmy forms of mankind within the southern zone it is assumed that the tendency to produce dwarf forms was inherent in the genetic constitution of the early Dartians. This tendency is linked with two other characters, woolly hair and pigmented skin. The Dartians were of short stature, but carried the potentialities of a wide range. Dolichocephaly prevailed among the early Dartians, but the fossil forms found in South Africa, like living anthropoids, ranged from dolichocephaly to brachycephaly. The Dartians had anthropoid features; human facial features have been evolved since the dispersal. The explanation of Mongoloid features in Africa and in Western Europe and of Caucasian features among Mongolian peoples. Certain types of body and of face occur in all races. Evidence as to mental and moral nature of the early Dartians. Their habits of life. The African theory as a working hypothesis.

IN Essay XXIII it was assumed that human-footed, ground-living anthropoids had been evolved in some part of Africa, and that during the long Pliocene period these primitive forms, which we are to speak of as "Dartians," spread slowly abroad, and so laid the foundation of humanity throughout the Old World. Of

what colour were the Dartians, our anthropoid forerunners? Seeing that the African anthropoids, the gorilla and chimpanzee, are heavily pigmented, and that all true natives of Africa are dark-skinned, we may infer that this was so in the case of the extinct anthropoids of South Africa, and also in the case of their cousins, the Dartians, who, spreading abroad, carried the melanin-producing genes into the most distant parts of the earth. The African theory thus postulates that the originals of all races were dark-skinned, an assumption made by John Hunter in the eighteenth century on the evidence then available to him.¹

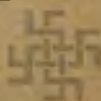
The African theory thus explains why the three great racial divisions of the southern hemisphere should be inhabited by dark-skinned peoples, but gives no answer to those who ask the question: "Why have the peoples of the two great regions of the northern hemisphere—Sinasia and Caucasia—lost their original pigmentation, especially the Caucasians?" To answer this question we must return to the evolutionary centre in Africa and imagine what must have happened during the long period of dispersal. The Dartians were organized into a large number of small social groups, each being a separate inbreeding society. Some groups, we may legitimately assume, prospered, multiplied, in numbers, and, because of this, divided, new groups being thus formed. These new groups, to find room, had to move forwards to the growing or advancing edge of the area of dispersal. Thus the growing edge would be formed by groups which had recently undergone separation from older groups. Now, we have seen (Essay XXII, p. 219) that a new group carries with it an assortment of genes somewhat different from that of its parent group; the more frequent the division of a group, the more will its assortment of genes tend to depart from the original outfit. These new groups, as they advance into fresh, virgin territory, are exposed to conditions which are novel to them. They thus become further changed by new selective agencies coming into operation. Other influences also produce changes in advancing or pioneering groups. Their advance exposes them to changes of climate, of food, and of surroundings; immigrants are affected by such changes.² Thus the groups which had advanced farthest from the original centre of dispersal would have undergone the greatest degree of evolutionary change.

Here I expose myself to a criticism. The Dartians who laid

the foundations of humanity in Java had made a longer evolutionary journey than those who carried their genes to China or to Europe. Why, then, did they retain their pigmentation while the others lost theirs? My answer is that the Dartians were evolved in a tropical climate and that their pigmentation protected them from the evil effect of actinic rays.³ As long as their progeny remained exposed to tropical conditions, pigmentation had a survival value, and therefore such as tended to lose their pigmentation were weeded out. It was otherwise with the Dartians who succeeded in reaching the more temperate climates of Sinasia and Caucasia; if changes which involved a diminution of pigment-formation were otherwise advantageous to them, then they were free to undergo such changes. Among the changes I have in mind are those described under the heading of "foetalization" described in Essay XX. Some of man's greatest evolutionary advances seem to have been made by his assuming characters which made their first appearance at a foetal stage of his existence. The white and glabrous skin of the European is a foetal inheritance. The Mongol, with his yellow and hairless skin, has inherited this new trait to a lesser degree. We attribute, then, the paler skins of the northern hemisphere to the inheritance of a foetal condition.

We come now to the problem of the origin and distribution of that short, crisp, woolly form of hair which prevails throughout the greater part of native Africa. Man is the only Primate which has such hair. That of the great anthropoids is straight; for example, in the orang it is long, straight, and harsh to the touch. We must infer, therefore, that woolly hair arose as a mutation. This opinion is justified by the fact that it still does come into existence in families of pure European descent, sometimes in families which have blond hair.⁴ I assume that the woolly mutation occurred in certain groups of Dartians while still within their African centre of dispersion; other groups retained the straight or wavy anthropoid type of hair. Even in those groups which had mutated, one may assume that they still retained the genes for straight hair as "recessives," and that, in certain circumstances, these groups could give rise to non-woolly progeny. Thus the African theory assumes that woolly hair made its first appearance in Africa and that its seeds or genes were carried by the Dartians into all parts of the southern hemisphere of humanity.

The theory, then, is that all the peoples of the southern hemi-



sphere were originally woolly-haired as well as pigmented. How, then, has it come about that in the extremes of this hemisphere—in Africa in the west, and in Melanesia and Tasmania in the east—woolly hair has been retained, while in intermediate areas, represented by Hamitic Africa in the west and by New Guinea in the east, peoples are now frizzle-haired? How, too, are we to account for the fact that modern India, in the very centre of the pigmented zone, has a population which is predominantly wavy or straight-haired, although among its hill-tribes woolly-haired individuals are still to be found? How, too, did the peoples of Sinasia come by their straight and stiff black hair, and those of Caucasia by hair which is wavy and may be black, brown, or blond? The explanation I offer is that the Dartian groups which emerged from Pliocene Africa still carried in their bodies, but in a recessive state, the genes for straight or wavy hair, and therefore it was always possible for their progeny to become again wavy-haired.

It must be admitted that the African theory, in order to explain the distribution of woolly, frizzled, and wavy hair, makes very large drafts on the bank of genes. Critics may point out to me that all these drafts might be saved by presuming that it was not Africa but India which was the original centre of dispersal, for in the latter all types of hair are represented. If my critics assume that the first wave of people to emerge from India was woolly-haired, then they can account for the distribution of this type of hair in the extremes of west and east. If the second wave which went out from India was frizzle-haired, then that would account for this type of hair occurring in Hamitic Africa and in New Guinea. Lastly, it could be assumed that the last wave of humanity to emerge from India was wavy- or straight-haired; from the third wave was populated Australia, Sinasia, and Caucasia.

Those who favour India as the original centre of dispersal have in mind India as it is to-day; but the India we are concerned with is that of Pliocene times. In those times India was rich in her anthropoid fauna, but so far no evidence has come to light of a ground or Dartian type. Even if this type were to be found in India, we should still have to explain, first, how woolly hair was evolved, then frizzled, and lastly, hair of the wavy or straight type. We should still have to make large drafts on the bank of genes.

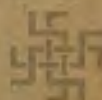


As the evidence now stands we must regard Africa as the home of the fundamental Dartian type.

We now turn for a moment to consider another problem—the origin and distribution of pygmy peoples. They are found only within the southern-pigmented hemisphere. In South Africa they are represented by the Bushman; in the Congo basin by at least five separate groups; in India by the Andamanese; in the Malay Peninsula by the Semangs; in the Philippines by the Aetas; in New Guinea by the Tapiro and Aiome dwarfs. Two pertinent facts must be noted in connection with these dwarf peoples:—

(1) they have woolly hair and are more or less deeply pigmented; (2) that in facial features and in colouring they resemble people of normal stature who live now, or presumably did in former times, in the same neighbourhood. For example, the dwarfs of the Welle Valley have the features and red colouring of the Azande and Mombutu tribes of that valley; the Tapiros of New Guinea are dwarf forms of neighbouring Papuans. We infer, therefore, that these dwarfs do not represent a single race, but that they have arisen in several places, and at diverse times, as sports or mutations; that the tendency to produce such mutations is inherent in the germinal constitution of Negroid peoples; and that this tendency existed in the emigrating Dartian groups, and was carried by them to all parts of the southern zone. Somehow this tendency to give rise to dwarf forms is linked with the genes responsible for the development of woolly hair; at least in those regions of the world where woolly hair is lacking there is an absence of pygmy forms. The African theory helps us to understand why the distribution of pygmies is as we now find it. It is also of interest to note that one of the African anthropoids—the chimpanzee—has a pygmy form or sub-species.⁵

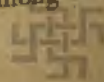
In modern Africa we meet with peoples of all statures, from the Bushmen of the Cape with an average height of 4 ft. 10 ins., to the tall Dinkas of the Nile Valley with an average approaching 6 ft. The extinct anthropoids of South Africa were of small size. From the fragments of their limb-bones one infers that they had the stature of Bushmen, and may therefore be regarded as dwarfs or pygmies. Their African cousin, the gorilla, is of massive size; a male may attain the weight and strength of four ordinary men. Taking all of these circumstances into consideration, it seems quite probable that the Dartians, in



their exodus from Africa, carried with them the potentialities of a wide range of statures.

Does the African theory throw any light on the distribution of long-headedness and of round-headedness among human races? Among the modern peoples of the southern hemisphere long-headedness prevails everywhere—in Africa, in India, in New Guinea, in Melanesia, and Australia. In only a few minor areas is there an appreciable degree of brachycephaly. It is otherwise in the northern hemisphere. In Caucasia, while long-headedness prevails among the peoples of the south, west, and north-west, those of the centre, of the east, and of the south-east are mostly short- or round-headed, or, as I would prefer to say, short-brained, for it is brain-growth that is the chief agent in determining the shape of head. When we pass from Caucasia into Sinasia, short-brainedness still holds, but nevertheless the prevailing brain-form among the Tibetans and Chinese is of an intermediate type. Weidenreich⁶ is of the opinion that there has been an immense transformation from long-headedness to round-headedness among the central peoples of the northern hemisphere during recent millennia. In this I am in agreement with him, although the manner in which this transformation has been effected still remains obscure.

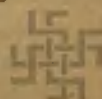
To explain the distribution of head-forms described in the preceding paragraph we should expect the early emigrants from Africa to be pronouncedly long-brained and long-headed. Let us, then, look into the brain-form of the African anthropoids. We shall call all those brains short if their width is more than 80 per cent of their length, and long if their width percentage is less than 80. Professor H. A. Harris⁷ found that in the gorilla the width of the brain-chamber varied from 72 to 86 per cent of its length, the prevailing form falling near the line which separates "long" from "short." In the chimpanzee the index figure varies from 78 to 84, while in the Asiatic orang shortness is dominant, the index varying from 82 to 87. More to our purpose is the shape of the brain in the extinct anthropoids of South Africa. The first of these to be discovered had a long and narrow brain, the width being only 70.5 per cent of its length. Schepers⁸ reports that in two other species of South African anthropoids (Dartians) which were discovered by Dr. Broom the brain width varies from 78 to 85 per cent of the length. Thus among the



early Dartians there were both long-brained and short-brained forms. We must note, too, the brain proportions in the earliest forms of humanity known to us. Among the fossil men of Java the brain index varied from 76 to 82; among those of China (*Sinanthropes*), from 74 to 79; in Piltdown man it was about 79; in Rhodesian man, 79; among the Neanderthals, from 79 to 84. Thus we find the same range of brain proportions among the earlier forms of man as among the earlier forms of African Dartians.

As regards their facial features the African Dartians were true anthropoids. Their noses were wide and flat and sank into the contour of their prognathous, snout-like faces. We must assume, therefore, that the differentiation of the human nose into its several racial types took place after the Dartian dispersal. There is a parallelism between the distribution of forms of hair and of types of nose. Taking the southern-pigmented zone first, we note that in the extremes of this zone—in Africa in the west, in Melanesia and Tasmania in the east—a wide and flat nose accompanies woolly hair. The aborigines of Australia, although they are no longer woolly-haired, retain the wide Negroid form of nose. In India, in the centre of the zone, noses have become narrow and straight and the hair wavy or straight. In nose shape the frizzle-haired Hamites of Africa agree with the natives of India, while the Papuans of New Guinea, on India's eastern flank, have noses of many forms; often they are prominent, sometimes with an arched or "Jewish" outline, and usually of moderate width. In the peoples of Sinasia, in whom Mongolian features have reached a full development, the nose is relatively small and of moderate width. Its bony part, its root and bridge, seem as if they had become submerged in the inter-orbital region of the face. It is among the peoples of Caucasia that the nose has undergone its greatest evolutionary development. It is usually prominent, sharply demarcated from the rest of the face, relatively narrow, and is capable of assuming an endless number of shapes. A consideration of the distribution of the various racial forms of nose, while bringing no support to the African theory, is not out of harmony with that theory.

In favour of the African theory there is evidence which I must now touch upon. I have already remarked (p. 238) that anthropologists have often noted the occurrence of "Europinoids"



among the peoples of Sinasia. In Africa, too, they have noted individuals with Mongolian traits. The resemblance of Hottentots to Mongolians in the colouring and in some of their facial features is a matter which has often caused astonishment. If it is remembered, as postulated by the African theory, that Hottentots and Mongols are co-descendants of a common Dartian stock, then we should not be surprised if some of these descendants have undergone a parallel evolutionary development. They are co-heirs of the same ancestral set of genes. Then there is the case of the Ainus of Sinasia, a hairy people with features in which Caucasian and Mongolian features are blended. If we accept the African theory, then we have to regard the peoples of Sinasia and of Caucasia as the collateral descendants of the early Dartian groups who made their way northwards into the central regions of the Old World. Therefore I regard the Ainus, not as immigrants from Europe, but as "isolates" who have retained a high percentage of the characters which were common to the ancestry of Asiatic as well as of European peoples. Likewise in Western Europe individuals are occasionally to be met with who manifest Mongolian features in their faces. To explain such occurrences we make big demands on the bank of genes, but, then, it must be remembered there are many undiscovered vaults in that bank.

Two other potentialities we may ascribe to our Dartian fore-runners. We may assume that in their genetic constitution there was a tendency to produce two opposite types of body—the short and thick and the long and slender, for, as Weidenreich⁹ has observed, these opposite types occur in all races of mankind. It is true that the short and thick type prevails among Mongolian peoples, and the long and thin type among the aborigines of Australia; in Caucasia both types are equally common. We may presume, too, that there was a wide variety of facial features among the early Dartians. No two had exactly the same combination of parts; each individual had its own distinctive marks. Schultz¹⁰ found among hundreds of American monkeys of the same species, collected in the same area of jungle, that the features of their faces "differed as much as an equal number of city-dwellers." Every Primate, be it ape or man, carries its marks of recognition in its face; hence the infinite variety of facial features within the same race. Yet under a coloured skin and arrayed in a distinctive racial livery one recognizes types of face which are common to

all races. When living among a native people of the Malay Peninsula, I met with many faces which recalled those of my friends at home. Bijlmer,¹¹ I find, had the same experience when he lived among the Papuans of New Guinea.

We come now to the most important of all matters which concern the early Dartians. What were their habits? How did they make their livelihood? What can we say of their mentality? As to the South African anthropoids, their discoverer, Professor Dart,¹² has no manner of doubt; they were "animal-hunting, flesh-eating, skull-cracking, and bone-breaking" apes. If the evidence on which he has relied proves to be well-founded, then we must infer that in their habits and nature ground-living anthropoids differed altogether from the tree-living forms. The latter subsist on shoots, buds, fruit, leaves, and insects, but in no sense can they be described as hunters. The social groups in which they live are devoid of the instincts which animate a "hunting pack." In 1920, five years before the discovery of the South African anthropoids, my friend Carveth Reade¹³ published a book in which he maintained that man had inherited his hunting, co-operative, cruel, and warlike proclivities from ground-living anthropoids which had all the instincts of a pack of wolves. The name he proposed for this form of anthropoid was *Lyco-pithecus*, the wolf-ape. At a still earlier date, another of my friends, Dr. Harry Campbell,¹⁴ gave many reasons for believing that the "pre-human ape was a hunter." Such a life, he claimed, created situations "in which intelligence counted in the life struggle as it had never before counted." Dartians seem to answer to the postulates of these two thinkers: In the caves of South Africa are found the broken skulls of extinct forms of baboons; these Professor Dart regards as the victims of his anthropoids. If this is so, then it is possible to suspect the Dartians of the cannibalistic practices which were certainly indulged in by early forms of mankind.¹⁵ Another of my intimate friends, Mr. Morley Roberts,¹⁶ taught that cannibalism had been "a powerful factor of progress and human advance," a doctrine which was repugnant to my personal outlook on humanity. Yet he may have been right, for we find a sober-minded ethnologist like Keane¹⁷ saying this of cannibalistic peoples of Africa: "Here again the observation has been made that the tribes most addicted to cannibalism also excel in mental qualities and physical energy. Nor are they strangers to the finer

feelings of human nature." All these items of evidence bearing on the mental and moral nature of the early Dartians are unsubstantial and highly speculative, yet to me they are far from incredible. When discussing the duality of human nature (p. 121), we noted how easy and natural it is for men and women to frame their behaviour on a dual code of morality; so universal is the practice of this code that we must believe that the mental attributes on which it is based are a common inheritance of mankind. We have seen that the dual code is still in its incipient stage in arboreal anthropoids (p. 41), but in the ground forms, the Dartians, it seems to have become completely established. If we agree that the ground forms of anthropoids were evolved in Africa, and that their mental and physical nature were such as has been outlined in this essay, and that in Pliocene times these anthropoid or Dartians spread abroad and laid the foundations of humanity in the various regions of the Old World, then we have a working hypothesis which explains much that is now obscure in the rise of humanity. Such a hypothesis has one essential merit: it can be proved or disproved by the discoveries which the future will certainly bring to us.

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- ³ Dr. Rupert Willis informs me that among the people of Australia those with lightly pigmented skins are the most liable to cancer of the skin. In the congenital condition known as *Xeroderma pigmentosa*, the parts of skin exposed to light are those most liable to turn cancerous.
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A NEW CONCEPTION OF THE GENESIS OF MODERN RACES *

Synopsis.—A statement of the problems relating to the origin of modern races of mankind. The theory which was prevalent in the opening decades of the twentieth century. The theory of regional evolution enunciated by the author in 1936. The origin of the native peoples of Australasia traced to the *Pithecanthropus* type of Java. Evidence pointing to the descent of Bushman and Hottentot races from a Pleistocene type represented by Rhodesian man. The fossil evidence, although incomplete, favours the idea that the Hamitic type was evolved in East Africa and the Chinese type in China. The origin of the Caucasian type. It is held that this type was evolved in Central or S.W. Asia from an ancestor of the Neanderthal type. The bearing of the discovery of an intermediate fossil type at Mount Carmel on this interpretation. The Pleistocene invasion of Europe by Caucasians and the extermination of the Neanderthals. Evidence that human races have "converged" during the Pleistocene phase of their evolution. The reasons which have led the author to abandon his earlier belief that the "modern type" of man was of ancient origin.

IN order that you may follow my line of argument, let me put before you samples of the problems I intend to explore in this essay. Take the Mongolian peoples, for example, so different

* The opening passages of this essay are taken almost verbatim from a Presidential Address which I gave to the members of the British Speleological Association at Buxton on July 25th, 1936. This was, so far as I know, the first time the conception had been put forward that modern races of mankind are the direct descendants of early Pleistocene forms of humanity. The address was published in full in *Caves and Cave Hunting*, vol. 1, and in *Nature*, 1936, vol. 138, p. 194. Knowing nothing of my address, Dr. Franz Weidenreich enunciated the same idea in the *Trans. Amer. Philosoph. Soc.*, 1941, vol. 31, p. 32. Professor Ruggles Gates also favours the idea that races have been evolved in the regions where they are now found (*Amer. Jour. Phys. Anthropol.*, 1944, N.S., vol. 12, p. 279).

individually, and yet so alike in the mass that they are unmistakable to the trained eye. When and how did the eastern lands of Asia become the home of these peoples? Was the type evolved where we now find it? Or let us ask—is Africa the home of the Negro? Was the type evolved in that continent? Then let us take the Australian type, represented by the aborigines of Australia and by the natives of adjoining islands. When and where did this type of humanity come into existence? Was it cradled and evolved in that part of the world where we now find it? Or was its cradle elsewhere? Then there is our own type—the European or Caucasian. Were our bodies and brains evolved in Europe? If not, where are we to seek for the ancestor of our type? All these types—Mongolian, Australian, Negro, and Caucasian—we presume to be the progeny of a common or primordial stock. Has cave exploration thrown any light on the break up of this stock and of its dispersion into all parts of the earth?

Does the evidence which we are now accumulating support the preconceptions we have formed concerning the solution of these problems? I have to confess that recent discoveries are upsetting our older ideas. The new facts, such as they are, do not support opinions usually held concerning the origin of the chief racial stocks of humanity. The most divergent races of modern man are, from an anatomist's point of view, not really far apart. There is no race that is not fertile with another. All seem to be the progeny of a common stock. We have been searching caves and river deposits all over the world in the hope of finding the common ancestor of modern types of humanity—black and brown, white and yellow. We have expected to find their common ancestor among the fossil types which flourished during the middle part of the Pleistocene period, one which—on the shorter reckoning—carries us back some 250,000 years, or, if we count by generations, then some 10,000 of them. From a single centre we expected to be able to trace the diffusion of modern man into all parts of the earth where demarcation of colour and of features occurred. Such was the theory which guided our inquiries and such *were* our expectations.

The theory just outlined is, in reality, little more than a modified version of the account in Genesis of "Shem, Ham, and Japheth." Instead of accepting Noah as the ancestor of modern

racés we substituted for him a "mid-Pleistocene ancestral stock"; in place of drowning all Noah's contemporaries in a universal deluge, we supposed that the races of modern man, as they spread abroad on the earth, exterminated all other and older races. We supposed that all the earlier Pleistocene types of men had been destroyed, leaving no issue. Thus after the mid-Pleistocene dispersion the earth became divided among peoples who were members of the same species of humanity—*Homo sapiens*.

Alas! our advances in knowledge bring no support for such a theory. Many fossil types of humanity have been discovered, but not one of them answers to our conception of a common ancestor for modern races. No evidence has been found of an outward migration from a common centre in mid-Pleistocene times. What has been found compels us to recast our ideas concerning the origin of human races. It does now seem as if the racial territories which were marked out in Essay XXIV are of ancient date, that by the beginning of the Pleistocene period the ancestors of the Mongol, of the Australian, of the Negro were already in occupation of the continental areas where their descendants are now found. In 1936 this was a new conception, for the prevailing belief then was, and indeed still is (1946), that early man was an incorrigible wanderer, and passed from continent to continent as the mood moved him.

The thesis I put forward to account for all the facts we now have concerning the origin of modern races has the following distinctive points:—(1) that their separation is very ancient and is traceable back to the beginning of the Pleistocene period; (2) that each of the main racial divisions was evolved in its own continental area; (3) that at the date of separation each race was still in the "rough"—and that each has undergone similar or "parallel" changes independently of each other. These parallel changes are represented by a reduction in size and of strength of tooth and jaw; a continuing increase in size and in complexity of the brain, the maximum of cerebral development being reached by late Pleistocene peoples. There were, too, independent transmutations of simian markings into those of a human character. I see no possibility of explaining the evidence now at our disposal unless we admit that "parallel evolution" has been just as potent in the evolution of human races as it certainly has been in the evolution of species of horse and of elephant.

As the evidence which connects the aborigines of Australia with *Pithecanthropus* of early Pleistocene Java is more complete than in the case of other races, I shall begin by tracing the origin of the peoples of Australasia. At the date just mentioned the Malay Peninsula was continued through Sumatra and Java to Timor, an arm of the sea about twenty-five miles wide separating the latter island from Australia. Australia was then joined to New Guinea, Melanesia, and Tasmania.¹ That at some point of the Pleistocene period human beings succeeded in reaching Australia by crossing that arm of the sea is proved by the discovery of Pleistocene man in Australia. In 1943, at Keilor, near Melbourne, a fossil skull of Australoid type was found at a depth of 18 ft. in a gravel terrace which is contemporary with, or even earlier than, the last glaciation in Europe.² The brain was remarkably large, the cranial capacity approaching 1,600 c.c. The facial features might well be the ancestral type from which those of the aborigines of Australia and of Tasmania were derived. At a still earlier date, 1914, the Talgai (Queensland) fossil skull came to light;³ it, too, was Australoid in all its characters, but its palate far exceeded any modern aboriginal palate, while its cranial capacity, 1,300 c.c., although much below that of the Keilor man, was rather above the mean for aborigines.

In 1896, two years after Dubois had announced the discovery of *Pithecanthropus*, Keane⁴ noted that an extinct tribe of Australian aborigines "had the enormous superciliary arches and some other traits of *Pithecanthropus*." Hermann Klaatsch (1864-1916), an anatomist of great originality of mind, visited Australia in 1904 to study the anatomy of the natives. In his report⁵ occurs the following passage: "My recent experiences show so many connections between *Pithecanthropus* and Australian and Tasmanian skulls that I am more inclined than before to accept a very close approximation of *Pithecanthropus* to the first tribe of human beings." Then, in 1920, Dubois published an account⁶ of two fossil skulls found at Wadjak in Java; their characters were pronouncedly Australoid, but their brains were very big, the cranial capacity of the larger being 1,650 c.c.; their palates, too, were of great size. In 1932 Dr. Oppenoorth made a discovery which served to link Wadjak man to *Pithecanthropus*. In a terrace of the Solo river, of later date than that which yielded the fossil remains of *Pithecanthropus* and only a little way from the original

site, he unearthed parts of eleven individuals; six of their skulls were sufficiently intact to be measurable. These Solo people had brains which varied from 1,035 to 1,255 c.c., their mean capacity being 1,100 c.c., which is more than 200 c.c. above the mean for the Pithecanthropians. They still retained the sloping forehead and prominent supraorbital ridges of the older type. Between 1931 and 1941 von Koenigswald succeeded in adding four more Pithecanthropoid skulls to the original discovered by Dubois, one of them being the infantile (Modjokerto) skull from a deposit of earliest Pleistocene date (see p. 226).

With such a record of intermediate, linking forms it is difficult to doubt that the individuals of at least one modern race of mankind—the aborigines of Australia—is the evolutionary progeny of an early Pleistocene type—namely, that represented by the Pithecanthropians of Java.

But what of the peoples of the other parts of Australasia—the natives of Tasmania, of Melanesia, and of New Guinea? All these must be regarded as insular peoples who have been isolated and inbred since Pleistocene times. The band or bands which first settled in those outlying areas carried with them their own particular assortment of Australoid genes. Those who went to New Guinea were submitted to a climate and a dietary very different from those which met the settlers in Tasmania or in Melanesia. The interaction of these factors—heredity and environment—led to the differentiation of their separate types.

From Australasia we pass to South Africa to inquire into the origin of two other modern races—namely, the Bushman and Hottentot. The stone tools of the early Pleistocene South Africans we know, but of their makers not a fossil trace has been found. The earliest type known is represented by the Rhodesian man; his date is probably towards the end of the mid-Pleistocene era, being thus a contemporary of the earlier forms of Neanderthal man in Europe. His face was gorilline in its characterization; his supraorbital torus was enormous; his jaws were large; his brain of moderate dimensions, had a volume of 1,350 c.c., about the same as a modern Hottentot. The Rhodesian skull⁷ was discovered in 1921; eight years previously a fossil skull was found at Boskop in the Transvaal, in circumstances which pointed to a date late in the Pleistocene. The skull found at Boskop differed altogether from that found in Rhodesia; it had a high

and long vault, and had contained a brain of great size, one with a volume of 1,630 c.c., nearly 300 c.c. more than fell to the lot of Rhodesian man. Excavation of South African caves by Professor Dart⁸ brought to light a number of cranial forms which linked that of Boskop with those of the Bushman and Hottentot, save that the modern representatives of the Boskop type are smaller-brained than the original. The last thing I expected to happen was the discovery of forms which linked the Rhodesian to the big-brained Boskop type. Yet that is what did happen. In 1932 Professor T. F. Dreyer⁹ found in the course of the systematic exploration of an Upper Pleistocene site at Florisbad, at a depth of 20 ft., and accompanied by implements of the South African middle stone industry, the greater part of a human skull. The Florisbad skull almost rivalled the Rhodesian in the strength of its frontal torus, but in other features agreed with the Boskop type. In 1945 another fossil skull¹⁰ with the same mixture of Rhodesian and Boskop traits was found at Labomba, on the border between Zululand and Swaziland. The accompanying stone "industry" was that found with the Florisbad skull. Such, then, is the evidence which leads us to the belief that Bushman and Hottentot have been evolved in Africa and that both are descended from a mid-Pleistocene type, such as that preserved for us in the Rhodesian skull.

In East Africa, to which we now turn, the evidence relating to the local evolution of race is less complete than in South Africa. Such evidence as we have is owing to the enterprise of Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, who has succeeded in placing East Africa on the archæological map of the world by the sacrifice of his personal affairs.¹¹ It was in 1933 that he found the oldest human fragment so far discovered in Africa—the chin region of a human mandible, very heavily mineralized. It came from the early Pleistocene deposits at Kanam on the eastern shore of Lake Victoria. This fossil fragment is remarkable for the fact that the front teeth, both canines and incisors, do not differ from those of modern man. Hence Dr. Leakey believed, and I agree with him, that the Kanam mandible was evidence of the early development of the modern type of man. Both he and I were then ignorant of the fact that small incisors and canines were also characteristic of the South African Dartian anthropoids. It seems to me now to be much more probable that the small front teeth of Kanam man

indicate a relationship to Dartian anthropoids rather than to any type of modern man. As I have mentioned already (p. 239), Dr. Leakey found in a mid-Pleistocene formation at Kanjera, which is near to Kanam, two skulls which provide the earliest indications of Negro features. All the human skulls he recovered from later Pleistocene deposits indicate the existence in East Africa of men of the Hamitic type. There remains for mention a fossil skull which Kohl-Larsen discovered in 1935 in the eastern shore of Lake Eyassi, Tanganyika, which Weinert¹² has attributed to a kind of man he has named *Anthropodus njarasensis*. The Eyassi skull resembles the Rhodesian in several points; Dr. Leakey gives it a late Pleistocene date.¹³ There are still many blanks in the fossil records of East Africa, but when these are filled in we may hope to have further evidence in support of my thesis that native races have been evolved in the continents they now inhabit.

From Africa we return to Asia to note the evidence relating to the evolution of the Mongolian type in Sinasia. There is evidence of the existence of man in this region throughout the whole of the Pleistocene period,¹⁴ but at only two points in this long stretch of time have bones of the actual inhabitants been found—namely, at the beginning of the mid-Pleistocene¹⁵ and towards the end of the Upper Pleistocene. Both these records have been provided by that treasury of fossil remains of man—the hill of Choukoutien in North China (see p. 227). From its lower caves have come parts of some forty Sinanthrops of the mid-Pleistocene; from an upper cave the remains of a people who may be described as Proto-Mongols.¹⁶ The Sinanthrops were an advance upon their contemporaries in Java, the mean volume of their brains being 1,075 c.c., 200 c.c. more than the Pithecanthropic mean. In outward appearance there was nothing Mongolian about the Sinanthrops, but in their teeth Weidenreich¹⁷ detected a foreshadowing of Mongolian characters, and in this I am in agreement with him. Fossil parts of seven individuals were found in the upper cave, but only in the case of one man and two women were these complete enough to supply details. In the man, with a cranial capacity of 1,500 c.c., Weidenreich noted Mongolian traits. He threw out the suggestion that these upper cave people might well represent the stock which gave the New World its earliest settlers. Imperfect as the records from Sinasia are, they support the idea that the Mongolian peoples have been evolved in Sinasia.

Before attempting to unravel the evolution of Caucasian peoples there is a preliminary matter I must deal with. Down to a point in the last period of glaciation Europe was inhabited by Neanderthals. Then, quite suddenly, some 100,000 years ago, on the Zeuner scale of time, they were replaced by men of the Caucasian type. In the Europe of that remote date a racial transformation of the kind which is now being enacted in the continent of Australia had taken place; a more energetic and better equipped race replaced one which was more backward in these respects. The racial differences between the Neanderthalian and Caucasian types are too great for us to suppose the older and more primitive type had been transformed into the newer and more evolved type. We must explain the event by supposing that the Caucasian invaders had come from a home outside the bounds of Europe and exterminated the older race.

The Caucasian invaders were broken up into many local varieties, the prevailing type being that represented by the Cro-Magnons—tall men with long heads and big brains. Then there were the small, long-headed people of the Mediterranean type, such as still live in the Island of Corsica. There were also the heavy-browed Predmostians of Central Europe.

Where did these early Caucasians come from? What is their evolutionary history? These questions remained unanswered until 1929-34, when an expedition of American and British archaeologists, under the leadership of Professor Dorothy Garrod, explored the caves of Mount Carmel in Palestine.¹⁸ From these caves were recovered fossil remains of ten Pleistocene Carmelites who were living in Palestine when Europe was still inhabited by men of the Neanderthal type. The task of examining and describing this people fell on Dr. T. D. McCown and myself.¹⁹ We found in them a strange mixture of Neanderthal and Cro-Magnon characters. The men were tall, robust, and long-headed, big-brained fellows. We concluded that we were dealing with a transitional people—one evolving from a Neanderthal type towards a Caucasian type—and that, after all, Neanderthal man was the ancestor of the proud Caucasian. As the evidence now stands it seems to us that at a period earlier than that represented by the fossil Carmelites, and farther towards the east, a local group of Neanderthals began to evolve in a Caucasian direction and that the Carmelites represent a later phase



of this movement. At least, if all turns out as we anticipate we may claim that the Caucasians of S.W. Asia still occupy the original area of their evolution.

One enigma remains: What became of the Piltdown race? In mid-Pleistocene deposits, at Swanscombe and in London, human skulls have been found which, so far as can be judged from their characters, are of the Piltdown, not of the Neanderthal type²⁰—evidence of the continuation of the Piltdown breed in England. The diagnostic points of the Piltdown species lie in the face, and the facial parts are lacking in the Swanscombe and London fossil skulls, so that their racial nature remains uncertain. The bones of Neanderthal man have not been found as yet in England, but remains of his stone culture are plentiful; we may well expect that his fossil bones will turn up some day. This at least is certain—the cave men who lived in England in the closing phase of the Pleistocene period were of the same breed and had the same stone cultures as their contemporaries on the Continent, and therefore were the Caucasian descendants of Neanderthal man. So were the invaders who came to Britain in post-glacial times. The sum of the evidence is, then, that the Piltdown breed in England was completely replaced by continental Caucasians.

Must we conclude, then, that human races which seemed so unlike—so far apart—at the beginning of the Pleistocene period converged or approached one another in characterization as time went on, so that ultimately the progeny of races, originally diverse, became moulded into what is spoken of as the “modern type”? That, I think, is the conclusion to which we must come. The idea of the evolutionary convergence of human races is not new; it was thrown out as a surmise in 1864 by the Swiss anthropologist, Carl Vogt.²¹ Darwin considered the suggestion²² and thought it was “possible,” but not “probable.” Yet that is what does seem to have taken place in the evolution of human races during the Pleistocene period; human races were more alike at the end of that period than they were at the beginning of it. Let me mention some of these “converging” structural changes—changes which were effected independently in each of the chief races of mankind. In all of them the brain underwent enlargement; and the jaws and teeth a reduction—two changes which were probably correlated. The chin was modelled independently, so was the forehead, so was the mastoid process. The

sharp sill of bone which is to be seen at the entrance to the nasal chamber in so many modern Europeans is also met with in the skulls of some ancient Neanderthals. All races of mankind seem to have inherited an evolutionary "trend" common to every one of them.

As a postscript to this essay let me dwell for a moment on the nemesis which overtook my faith in the antiquity of the "modern type" of man. My first book on fossil man, entitled *Ancient Types of Man*, published in 1911, was written to vindicate the claims of modern man to a high antiquity—claims which were rejected out of hand by the leading authorities of that time. The test case was that of "Galley Hill Man"; his remains were found in 1888 at a depth of 8 ft. in the 100-ft. terrace of the Thames valley; the geological evidence gave him a high antiquity, but, carrying all the modern marks I have just specified, he was placed by the leaders of opinion on the list of rejects. The fossil remains of Piltdown man were found at a depth of only 3 ft., but were immediately accepted because they carried primitive marks and were devoid of the modern ones. This mode of discrimination seemed to me unscientific; I clung to the geological evidence at Galley Hill, but the tide of discovery went dead against me. Even in 1926, when I brought out a new edition of *The Antiquity of Man*, I was still a defender of the antiquity of Galley Hill man and of his many compeers, but a change had overtaken me by 1931, for in a work published in that year I wrote: "Each great region of the world has produced and shelters its own native type."²³ By 1936 the evidence I have touched on in this and preceding essays convinced me that it was easier to believe that there was a flaw in the geological evidence of the antiquity of Galley Hill man than that a race or type of mankind could continue for 100,000 years without undergoing evolutionary change. And so I have had to abandon the claims of the "modern type of man" to a high antiquity, the very thesis which I set out to prove so long ago.

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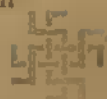
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ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE MODERN WORLD OF HUMAN EVOLUTION

Synopsis.—Primal and post-primal periods again defined. The post-primal period brought changes which altered the rate and mode of human evolution. There was a progressive increase in the size of the "evolutionary unit"; ultimately national units replaced local groups. The mode of increase illustrated. It is estimated that the population of the whole world in mid-Pleistocene times was less than the present population of Scotland. The slow spread of the practice of agriculture. Its effects on the population of Africa. The introduction of pastoralism; its effects on population; attended by certain advantages. The evolutionary advantages of small units. Man attained his full status under the conditions which prevailed in the primal period. Large units are unsuited for the production of definite evolutionary changes. Under the conditions of the post-primal period mankind was subjected to new agencies of selection. Qualities which were favoured and selected. Fertility was given a fresh impetus. Agriculture brought in slavery which is anti-evolutionary in its effects. There is a human factor determining the rate of increase in an agricultural community. Before the end of the primal period tribal units had been evolved.

READERS may recall that in Essay III I divided man's evolutionary history into two very unequal phases—the primal and the post-primal. The primal phase covers the whole of the Pleistocene period, which, on the accepted scheme of reckoning, is given a duration of a million years, whereas the post-primal phase, in which we now are, began only about 9,000 or, perhaps, 10,000 years ago. In the first or primal phase man was the slave of untamed Nature; for a livelihood he was dependent on the natural produce of the territory on which he lived; he was hunter and food-gatherer. In the second or post-primal phase the food-gatherer turned peasant and the hunter became pastoralist; man



discovered how to tame Nature, and thus became a food producer, and with this discovery was ushered in the evolutionary world in which he now finds himself.

To turn a primal native into a toiling peasant seems a small matter, yet it was this change, beginning in a limited centre and spreading slowly from that centre to the ends of the earth, which transformed the conditions under which humanity lived and altered radically the means by which its evolutionary change is effected. In this essay and in those which follow I propose to examine the nature of the changes which the discovery of agriculture effected in the social life of mankind. The chief change, the one on which I shall lay the greatest stress, concerns the size of the "evolutionary unit." In the primal world the evolutionary unit is represented by the local group—a company of some fifty to sixty men, women, and children, held together, and at the same time separated from other surrounding groups, by that complexity of mental partialities which we shall speak of as "clannishness." With cultivation, food became more abundant; local groups increased in size and in number; competition and strife between neighbouring groups ensued, with the result that larger combinations were formed; several groups became fused to form one body. When fusion had reached that point where all the groups involved had lost their spirit of separatism and become sharers of the same clannish feeling, then a new size of evolutionary unit had come into existence, to which the name tribe is given. Local group and tribe are dominated by the same mentality; they differ in size and in fighting strength or power. Tribes are subject to the same evolutionary conditions as were the local groups—those of competition and combat, ending in local tribal fusions. When tribes, caught up in such new combinations, have lived together for a sufficient number of generations—some ten or twelve at least—they become conscious not only of a common fellowship, but also that their fellow-feeling separates them from all surrounding peoples. When this stage of consciousness has been reached, then a new evolutionary unit has come into being—the unit which we recognize as a nation. The same spirit of clannishness which animated and dominated the local group and the tribe also takes possession of the nation. My aim, then, will be to prove that the chief difference between the primal and the post-primal phases of human evolution concerns

the size of the evolutionary or social unit. We shall also have to inquire how far the machinery of evolution was thrown out of gear by the rise of the monstrous national units of modern times.

To illustrate the effects produced by the discovery of agriculture on the size of a social group, let us take a tribal territory in which the inhabitants are entirely dependent on its natural produce. Let us suppose that this territory measures 20×20 miles, thus containing 400 square miles. If the land is fertile and the winter mild, our territory cannot support from its natural produce more than 400 inhabitants—that is, one for each square mile. This is Professor Kroeber's¹ estimate, based on what is known of living primal peoples, and it is one with which I agree. Let us now imagine that our picked primal territory has been ploughed and sown out in wheat: what population could it support with ease? For European countries economists² usually allow two acres of wheat for each head of population, and, as there are 640 acres to each square mile, this implies that each square mile, instead of supporting merely one primal man, is now capable of nourishing 320 modern men. The tribal territory which in primal times could support no more than 400 souls, after the introduction of tillage became capable of carrying a population of 128,000. The primal tribesmen were divided into local groups,³ each group leading a nomadic life within its allotted area, whereas the modern inhabitants have no need to roam, but can remain in fixed abodes—towns, villages, and farms. Such, then, expressed in somewhat crude terms, are some of the changes which took place in the world of humanity when man passed from the primal to the post-primal phase of his evolution.

The picture I have just drawn of a tribal territory gives a too favourable impression of the density of population and of the fertility of the soil in ancient times. The Wonnarua, an extinct tribe of New South Wales,⁴ for example, although it numbered only 500 members, yet occupied a fertile territory of 2,000 square miles along the Hunter river, having thus four square miles for each head of population. In estimating the population of the primal world one has to remember that very large areas were covered by jungle and forest and were, from the point of view of primal man, inhospitable and almost uninhabitable areas. Observations made by Dr. W. B. Hinsdale⁵ led him to conclude that the thickly forested lands surrounding the central lakes of the

United States never carried a native population of more than one inhabitant to every thirty square miles of territory. In any attempt to estimate the total population of the earth in mid-Pleistocene times a higher allowance than one head for each ten square miles of habitable territory should not be made. If we take the total of habitable land on the earth as forty-two million square miles, and allow ten of them for each head of population, then the total population of the world in mid-Pleistocene times was about 4.2 millions—a total which is less than the present population of Scotland. The 4.2 millions of Pleistocene times has now (1946) become 2,000 millions, and it has been estimated⁶ that this number could be increased to 132,000 millions if all lands were properly cultivated. I must own that for me the possibility holds in it more of a nightmare than of a happy dream.

One would expect that agriculture—a discovery so beneficent in its effects—would have spread with hurried feet across the earth. This was not the case: the division of the population into a myriad of small isolated self-sufficient communities greatly hindered the rate of extension. We shall see presently that before the fifth millennium B.C. had begun, people in the south-west region of Asia were tilling the land and keeping cattle; it took over 2,000 years for these practices to reach the peoples of Western Europe. Grain was sown and reaped at a very early date in Egypt,⁷ and, although the Egyptians were linked with the tribes of tropical Africa by a continuous series of communities extending along the valley of the Nile, the new mode of gaining an existence seems to have spread very slowly southwards to the tribes in the interior, and to have been adopted by them with much less zeal than was the case in Europe. Even to-day Africa, taken as a whole, has an estimated population which gives only ten people for each square mile of territory: Northern Rhodesia, for example, 3.2 individuals for each square mile; Southern Rhodesia,⁸ 5.1; Kenya, 10; Uganda, 30; Nyasaland, which has an all-over average of 34.6, yet in certain areas falls as low as 10, and in others rises as high as 200 inhabitants for each square mile. Nigeria has a mean of 60 per square mile, but in south Nigeria Miss Green⁹ found village communities cultivating their tribal land so successfully that it was able to support 450 to the square mile. From which it will be seen that the tribal peoples of Africa have exploited the life-sustaining potentialities of their territories to only

a limited extent. It is also worthy of remark that in the whole of this great continent in Egypt alone has tribal synthesis reached the degree that gives the people of that land the status of a nation.

The primitive peasant usually augmented his income from the soil by keeping domesticated animals. There were, however, certain primitive tribes who found it more agreeable to their nature to depend on flocks and herds for their entire sustenance. Pastoral peoples require a much more extensive territory for their maintenance than those who live by tilling the soil. A Tartar family had an allowance of three square miles; the pastoral lands of East Africa carried three members of the Masai tribe to each square mile: the highest estimate I have come across gives seven souls per square mile. Pastoralism, if a pleasant, was an extravagant mode of life: a square mile which could be made to support over 300 agriculturalists could at the utmost carry only seven pastoralists. If pastoralism failed to give man-power, it could claim certain advantages. It was a mode of life suited to the nature of primal man; the primitive hunter took kindly to the tending of herds. Another advantage was mobility; the pastoral tribe had to move every season from its "home" or winter territory in the south to the summer feeding-grounds of the north; the tribe had to be organized for movement as well as for defence. Agriculture tended to favour and to select men of a pacific nature, whereas pastoralism bred warlike qualities. Hence pastoral tribes, in spite of their weakness in man-power, have always been a standing menace to settled agricultural communities.

In the preceding paragraphs I have been seeking to make clear the nature of the changes which came into our world with the discovery of agriculture and the domestication of animals. No doubt the post-primal world is a pleasanter place for man to live in than the primal world, which was his home for a million years. Yet if we are to measure things as a student of evolution should measure them, we must admit that the primal world had a high degree of evolutionary effectiveness. We find man entering that period, upright in body to be sure, but low-browed and meanly brained; before the end of that period, 50,000 years or more before the dawn of modern or post-primal age, he had come by his full complement of brain and by all his modern features of face and of body. The machinery which fashions

human evolution has been demonstrably effective. All my essays which precede the present one have been devoted to an exposition of that machinery. Among the cogs or parts of the machinery, I count, as the most important, the division of primal humanity into an exceedingly great number of small isolated groups or units—"parish races," as Bagehot aptly named them. Between these "parish races" there was a spirit of rivalry and of competition, quiescent for long periods, no doubt, but nevertheless relentless and undying. The groups which could not withstand the competition became broken, and disappeared; evolutionary results were speedy and definite. As I have sought to prove, "human nature" had become so constituted as to maintain the isolation and competition of these primal groups. It was this condition of affairs which Herbert Spencer had in mind when he spoke of "the automatic and merciless discipline of the primal world."¹⁰ Here Spencer overlooked the fact that mercy as well as cruelty prevailed in the primal world. Within each group there was a core of co-operation, mutual sympathy, and responsive mercy. It was the spirit of rivalry, competition, and antipathy which prevailed between groups that made life in the primal world merciless.

As I have said, the division of mankind during the long primal period into a myriad of small, competing groups is the basal part of my theory of human evolution; it is possible that readers may feel that it is just on this head that my evidence is least convincing. Let me cite Professor Gordon Childe as a witness; he is an authority on all that pertains to the ways of ancient man. In 1942 he penned the following passage:—

"A small horde of lower or middle palæolithic hunters would require an enormous territory to support them. . . . Each little group would thus be isolated and virtually condemned to endogamy, and so to inbreeding, which would tend to conserve archaic traits and to prevent that mixing of genes that seems favourable to mutations."¹¹

On the other hand, I am of opinion that the rapid evolutionary progress of the primal period was due to the fact that "mixing of genes" was then the exception and not the rule. Professor Childe also finds from archaeological evidence¹² that the isolation between groups continued for some time after man

had entered the Neolithic Age, that age marking the first stage of man's post-primal world. Although David Hume (1711-76) lived in pre-Darwinian times, he had, as the following passage¹³ will show, a clear idea that mankind was divided into small units in the ancient world: "Almost all the nations, which are the scene of early history, were divided into small territories or petty commonwealths. . . . And it must be owned that no institution could be more favourable to the propagation of mankind." Hume was here thinking of the advancement of learning rather than of the progress of the race, yet what is true of learning is also true of race; it is the small unit or nation that produces things which have distinctive qualities. The evidence of Gumplovitz (1838-1909), who lived and wrote in the Darwinian Age, helps to confirm my thesis. "Agglomeration," he wrote, "began in the strife of innumerable petty units."¹⁴ One other matter I may allude to here. I was under the impression that my division of man's evolutionary history into primal and post-primal was new. I now find that Kant (1724-1804) had made a similar division. What he named the "epoch of natural development" I have called the "primal period," and what he named the "epoch of civil development" I have designated as the "post-primal period."¹⁵

I am discussing the changes which took place in the process of evolution when mankind entered the post-primal, or modern, period. Perhaps the most important change next to increases in the size of units relates to new modes of "natural selection" to which human communities then became subject. A primal community, dependent on the natural produce of its territory, led an arduous and precarious life, but it was free from the biblical curse, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return unto the ground." To primal man manual labour was repugnant; scores of instances could be cited to prove that pastoral and hunting tribes preferred to reject existence itself rather than submit to the laborious discipline imposed by a life of agriculture. In the early days of the modern period a group or a tribe with even a small proportion of members willing to use spade or hoe had a surer grip of life than the group or tribe which was constitutionally work-shy. As time went on the selection and increase of communities tolerant of labour must have become more and more intense, and the elimination of work-shy peoples more drastic.

And yet I cannot claim that we of Western Europe, after 4,000 years of this selective process, have become true lovers of manual labour. Indeed, rich men seek relaxation by resuming the life of primal man.

Another quality which has been subject to selection in the modern period is that of prudence and foresight. Primal man was not altogether improvident; wild seeds and roots were stored by some of the aborigines of Australia and Tasmania and by the "digger Indians" of California;¹⁶ the Eskimo placed food in "cold storage." Notwithstanding these instances, it may be truly said that the prevailing philosophy of primal man was "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." It requires a new philosophy to dig and sow that one may eat some three or four months later. The tribe which had sufficient imagination to learn and to adopt this philosophy stood at an advantage over those which were unable to accept and practice it.

I do not think that intellectual qualities were more strenuously selected in the post-primal world than in the primal one. The group or tribe which included in its number a hunter capable of evolving a new plan for catching game, or of inventing an improved form of trap, or of devising a more effective form of weapon, stood at an advantage over other groups. The same faculty served post-primal man in solving the problems which his new form of life brought him up against. Nor do I think that modern man has gained aught over primal man in the strength of his social habits, nor in the keenness of his sympathy for fellow-members of his community. Throughout the long primal period the groups which felt and acted in concert were the winning groups. Modern man has inherited the unchanged emotional nature of primal man; he has the same store of predispositions and prejudices. "To be born under the law," wrote Bagehot, "blinds us to prehistoric conditions";¹⁷ it is even more true to say that to be born in the modern period blinds us to the amount we owe to the discipline and selection to which our ancestors were subjected in the prolonged primal period.

Another major change which attended the emergence of humanity from primal to post-primal conditions was this: human lives became of economical advantage. In primal times a tribe lived up to the limits of the natural produce of its territory. By infanticide and other means a primal tribe sought to keep within

this limit by maintaining stability of numbers.¹⁸ With the coming of agriculture this ceased to be necessary; additional children still meant additional mouths to feed, but then there were additional hands to wield the hoe and spade, and also, when necessary, to wield weapons of defence. Additional lives thus became advantageous to the tribe. This economic revolution was attended by one disastrous result, due to man's natural aversion to manual labour. Slave labour was of no advantage in primal times; it was then a full day's work for a man to feed himself. It was otherwise in post-primal times; a war captive, reduced to slavery, could produce enough for others as well as for himself. Hence came the introduction of slavery. Now, as I have already pointed out,¹⁹ when a tribe adopts the practice of slavery, its evolutionary machinery becomes clogged. A tribe with one part free and another enslaved is no longer a single unit with a common spirit and a common destiny; it is then a two-fold body with a twofold morality, and a doubtful destiny. In due time agriculture became the mother of wealth and of capital; it was capital that turned the local evolutionary units of primal days into the multi-millioned national units of modern times. We may say, then, that capital has clogged the evolutionary wheels which were so effective in primal times.

The numbers which a land can be made to support by cultivation depend on many circumstances—on soil, rainfall, climate, and kind of crop. It has been said, for example, that an acre planted with bananas will afford steady sustenance for fifty natives. A human factor is also involved. For instance, the natives of New Guinea live in village communities and support themselves by clearing areas in the surrounding bush, wherein they grow yams, taro, bananas, sugar-cane, beans, and other garden produce. There are large tracts of unused bush; the number of communities could be multiplied twenty times and still leave room to spare, but the natives prefer to retain their present restricted birth-rates. One may truly say that the natives of New Guinea lack the *ambition* to develop the potentialities of their great island. This is what I mean by the human factor.

There is one other matter I must deal with before bringing this essay to an end; it relates to the size which evolutionary units had attained before the end of the primal period. Our estimates are necessarily based on observations made on primal peoples who

have survived into modern times. I quote from data compiled by Professor L. Krzywicki.²⁰ Among the Fuegians the number of men, women, and children which made up a local group (evolutionary unit) varied from twenty to forty; among the extinct Tasmanians the group never included more than thirty; among the aborigines of Australia units differed very greatly in size; there were isolated self-contained units of forty or fifty individuals, and others of 200 or 250 members; the Arunta tribe of Central Australia included at one time as many as 2,000 individuals. That number was made up of a large number of confederated local groups, which assembled in one place only on special occasions. After a corroboree held by another large tribe as many as 155 fireplaces were counted, indicating an assembly of 1,000 people. Some of these were known to have come from a distance of 300 miles.²¹ We may infer that similar tribal confederations had taken place in Europe before the end of the Pleistocene period. This is supported by observations made on the camps occupied by the mammoth-hunters of Moravia. One camp near Predmost covers over 1,000 acres;²² another camp at Solutre in central France, frequented by men who hunted the wild horse, extends over two acres.²³ These camps, I infer, correspond to the corroboree sites of Australia and indicate meeting-places of confederated local groups. Thus a tribal status had been evolved in Europe before the end of the primal period.

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THE ANTIQUITY OF VILLAGE SETTLEMENTS

Synopsis.—The theme to be discussed is outlined. Evidence of the early practice of agriculture in Egypt and in Palestine. The claims of the Iranian plateau to be considered the cradle of agriculture. Cultivated wheats and domesticated animals occur there in a wild state. The inhabitants of the plateau were members of the Caucasian family. Villages afford evidence of agriculture. The history of villages is preserved in mounds or Tells. Evidence from the excavation of Tell Halaf, Nineveh, Arpachiya, and Gawra. Evidence from ancient village sites on the plateau, at Tepe Giyan and at Tepe Siyalk. From the mound at Persepolis. The author seeks to trace village communities of post-primal times back to local groups of the primal period. The village replaces the local group as an evolutionary unit. The author attributes the discovery of agriculture to a local group and outlines a probable mode of discovery. Evidence that the early Iranian villagers were of a pacific nature. Strife developed as the period of town-building was reached.

THE thesis I am to put forward in this essay is made up of the following parts: (1) that tillage of the soil and the domestication of animals were first practised, somewhere in the uplands between Anatolia in the west and India in the east, most likely on that part of the plateau which is now included in the kingdom of Iran or Persia; (2) these arts were discovered and put into practice by local communities belonging to the Caucasian division of humanity; (3) village settlements are traceable back to the sixth millennium in Iran, but as the villagers of that early date had already reached a high point in the development of their arts it now seems probable we shall have to go back to the eighth millennium to find their beginnings. Underlying my thesis is the assumption that the existence of village communities in a land, be it ancient or modern, is a sure sign that the people of that land have entered

the post-primal phase of human evolution dealt with in the preceding essay.

Before entering on my main theme there are two preliminary matters I want to dispose of. In 1930, while searching for evidence to link cave life to that of settlement on the land,¹ I came to the conclusion that a wide interval of time separated the latest cave dwellers of Palestine—the Natufians²—from the earliest grain growers of Lower Egypt. Grain was sown, reaped, and stored in the Fayum³ and in the western delta of the Nile⁴ in the latter part of the sixth millennium B.C. I was then of opinion that the Natufians, who sheltered in the caves of the western slopes of Mt. Carmel and in other caves of Palestine, had preceded the grain-growers of Egypt by several thousand years. The Natufians, a people of Mediterranean stock, knew nothing of pottery; their implements and weapons were shaped out of stone and bone. But they armed shafts of bone with flint blades, and used them as sickles to reap wild grain, as it was then thought, but seeing they had stone querns, mortars, and pestles, it becomes now probable that they grew the grain they reaped.⁵ And seeing that the Natufians ornamented the handles of their sickles in a manner very similar to that of the villagers who lived in Iran towards the end of the sixth millennium, it now seems possible that the Natufians may have been contemporary with the early grain-growers of Egypt.⁶

Turning to the claims of S.W. Asia as the cradle not only of agriculture, but also of the ways of civilized man, one first notes the vastness of the area with which we are concerned. Its combined lands are about equal in size to half of Europe: Iran alone is twelve times the size of England. To travel from ancient Troy in the west to the buried cities of India in the east involves a journey of 2,500 miles; it is also a wide territory extending from the Caspian Sea in the north to the Arabian Sea in the south. It is the land which the Persians conquered in the sixth century B.C., and which the Greeks under Alexander invaded in the fourth century. Much of it is now desert or arid steppe, but in the closing phases of the Ice Age most of it was rolling grassland, well watered, and providing, in the words of Professor Haddon,⁷ "a very desirable land and well fitted for human habitation." More to the point is the fact that all forms of wheat, which man has succeeded in cultivating and improving.

grew here in their wild and native state. The animals which he domesticated—the sheep, ox, horse, and pig—were constituents of the wild fauna. Most of our fruit trees and garden vegetables had their original home in this great Iranian Garden of Eden. No other part of the earth can make such claims as these.

As to the racial characters of the peoples who inhabited the Iranian plateau in the closing phases of the Ice Age, one has to depend on inference, for their fossil remains are so far unknown. In Essay XXVI I have given my reasons for inferring that S.W. Asia was the region where men of the Neanderthal type became transformed into the Caucasian type, and that, towards the end of the Pleistocene period, this transformed type spread westwards to occupy Europe and Africa north of the Sahara. The population of the plateau in the closing phases of the Ice Age would thus represent the stock from which the early emigrants to Europe and to Africa emerged. Our actual records begin at the close of the fourth millennium B.C. In the arid steppe country which extends into Iran beyond the south-east corner of the Caspian Sea there is a mound, Tepe Hissar, which held the entombed history of a local people who settled there about the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. and lived a continued existence for well over 2,000 years.⁹ They buried their dead under their dwellings; of the several hundred graves found, 184 yielded skulls sufficiently intact for examination. My friend Dr. W. M. Krogman¹⁰ has reported on the kind of people represented by the skeletons from Tepe Hissar. He found them to be true Caucasians. The prevailing type had features of skull we find in Mediterranean peoples; others, forming a smaller proportion, had those characters which are found most frequently in the inhabitants of Northern Europe. They were a people of rather low stature, the average height of the men being 5 ft. 5.5 ins. (1,662 mm.), that of the women, 5 ft. 2 ins. (1,580 mm.). They were people with long and narrow heads of good size, quite equal in this respect to modern Europeans; their facial features were those met with in Europeans. The nose was prominent and relatively narrow. Herzfeld¹¹ speaks of these early inhabitants of the Iranian plateau as "Caspians"—a convenient name. The Caspian type still abounds on the plateau; one finds it among the Kurdish tribes, among the Tajiks of Persia, and among the Afghans. The special Persian type, with prominent hooked nose and long and

narrow head, recently described by Dr. Henry Field,¹² occurred also among the ancient Caspians. We shall find that the native Caucasians of S.W. Asia are distinguished by the form of nose rather than by shape of head.

All over the Caucasian region of Asia, from the site of Troy in the west to the buried cities of the Indus valley in the east, there occur mounds or "Tells," which, when excavated, yield the history of villages and towns of past ages. It is the archaeological history of these village sites which is to give a clue to the antiquity of agriculture, for it was agriculture which made village life possible. The mound at Troy for example, was made up of seven superimposed towns; the oldest, covering about two acres, began about the end of the fourth millennium B.C., the last, covering about four acres, was sacked by the Homeric Greeks at the beginning of the twelfth century B.C. Thus Troy was a site of human habitation for about two thousand years. From Troy we move eastwards to inland Syria to the upper waters of the Kabur, a tributary of the Euphrates. Here, on the banks of the Kabur, is a mound—Tell Halaf—much older and more extensive than that of Troy; it covers an area of about twenty-five acres. In the basal and oldest settlement of Tell Halaf Baron von Oppenheim¹³ found the remains of town-dwellers who made and used a distinctive form of painted pottery, and had a culture marked by several peculiar traits. It is now generally agreed that the Halafian culture must be assigned to an early date in the fifth millennium B.C., and, as it was widely spread in the Ancient East, its occurrence at any particular site provides archaeologists with a clue to the date of the strata they expose. For instance, the Halaf culture appears in the foundations of Nineveh, which is in the valley of the upper Tigris, 120 miles to the east of Tell Halaf. Yet at Nineveh the Halafian is the third cultural stratum above the virgin soil; Mallowan¹⁴ had to dig through ninety feet of city deposits to reach the virgin soil. There he found remnants of the mud-walled Neolithic village from which the city of Nineveh had sprung. If we assign the Halafian culture to an early date in the fifth millennium, then we must give the Neolithic beginnings of Nineveh a date well within the sixth millennium.

On the plain, near the ruins of Nineveh, is a mound, thirty-four feet high, known as Tell Arpachiya. This was also excavated under the direction of Mallowan.¹⁵ He found in it the foundations

of ten superimposed villages. The earliest villagers were exponents of the Halafian culture; the later were of another culture—the al' Ubaidian—which prevailed in Mesopotamia in the latter part of the fifth millennium. Thus village life in Arpachiya began about 5000 B.C., and lasted for about 1,000 years, when the site was abandoned. Mallowan was struck by the architectural resemblance of the Arpachiyan villages to those built by the modern inhabitants of Iraq. Some fourteen miles to the north-east of the village site just described, at the foothills on the frontiers of Persia, there is a famous mound known as Tepe Gawra. It was excavated by Dr. E. A. Speiser, who issued his report in 1937.¹⁶ He found that in the seventy-seven feet of deposits twenty cultural horizons were preserved. The horizon or stratum which marked the Halafian period came in the fifth stratum above the virgin soil. The first or oldest stratum contained the foundations of several village communities, out of which the township or city-State of Gawra had developed. What age, then, are we to give to these ancient peasant communities? Seeing that three strata, each representing a cultural period, are interposed between them and the overlying Halafian stratum, we must assign them to about the middle of the sixth millennium B.C., or even towards its beginning.

From Gawra to Nihavend, on the western end of the Iranian plateau, involves a journey of 240 miles. Near Nihavend is Tepe Giyan, excavated in 1931-2 by an expedition from France.¹⁷ It was found that the two deepest strata were formed when the site was occupied by villagers of the "buff-ware culture," a culture which is widely spread in the ancient sites of the Western plateau, and served archaeologists as a time-marker. The two deepest strata at Tepe Giyan are pre-Halafian,¹⁸ for it is in the stratum overlying these two that Halafian influences become evident. Leaving Tepe Giyan the French expedition moved eastwards for a distance of 200 miles to explore a still older mound—that of Tepe Siyalk. This mound is near Kashan, and some 200 miles to the south of the Caspian Sea. In the basal and oldest stratum, under ninety-two feet of deposits which had accumulated during an occupation period of over 2,000 years, they found the habitations and outfit of the earliest Iranian villages so far brought to light.¹⁹ Now, the deepest stratum at Tepe Siyalk is older than the deepest layer at Tepe Giyan, and that, in turn, is older than Tell

Halaf; we must therefore give the original peasant villagers of Siyalk a very early date, one well within the sixth millennium.

On the strength of the archæological evidence the village settlement discovered at Siyalk has claims to be considered as the earliest known to us so far. When we consider the culture of these ancient peasants it is clear they are far beyond the first stage in the development of agriculture. "These people," wrote Dr. D. McCown,²⁰ "formed a self-contained unit. . . . They made the walls of their settled dwellings with beaten mud; they cut grain (wheat and barley) with flint blades set in bone holders, grinding it on saddle-shaped querns and in mortars; they had at least one variety of domesticated sheep." Copper was native to their district, and they made some use of it. They were potters and weavers; they made beads and bracelets, stone hoes and axes, vessels and mace-heads of stone. They buried their dead under their habitations, just as did the cave-dwellers of Mt. Carmel. One other remarkable feature links the Siyalk villagers with the Palestinians; both peoples decorated the bone handles of their flint sickles with carvings of a similar kind. That fact impresses me very deeply, for between these two peoples there intervened 1000 miles of country occupied by a great number of small isolated communities. To explain the wide diffusion of a feature so peculiar in its nature in the sixth millennium, it is clear we must seek for the beginning of agriculture as early as the eighth millennium.

In order to gain more light on the wide distribution of village life throughout the Iranian plateau in the early part of the fifth millennium, and the high stage of culture attained by the villagers, we are now to move to the site of Persepolis, 300 miles to the south of Tepe Siyalk. There we are to find a culture contemporary with, or perhaps earlier than, that of Tell Halaf. On the plain of Persepolis there is a mound which was excavated by Herzfeld.²¹ Here are some of the more important points from his description :—

"The Persepolis mound is situated in the middle of the fertile plain at quite a distance from the present beds of the two large rivers that irrigate it, but near to a rich spring, whence a little rivulet emanates which in ancient times probably passed the site. . . . The village is an agglomeration of rooms and



courtyards, not of separate houses. In fact it is a kind of bee-hive, one continuous house. . . . Although the potter's wheel was still unknown, the pottery surpasses almost all other wares of a later period. . . . The vessels were made for its household by its own members; hence the large number of small kilns among the rooms of the village. All pottery, except a rough ware for cooking, is painted, and it is amazingly rich in types as well as in decoration. Side by side with naturalistic representations there are the most abstract drawings, shapes reduced to geometric units. Sheep, goats, swine, cows, and dogs were certainly domesticated. . . ."

From this description it is clear that early in the fifth millennium the Iranian peasantry had developed a high artistic ability, and had so intensified their social aptitudes that their community formed a large integrated household. They were already the product of a long Neolithic civilization.

The aim I had in view in writing this essay must not be lost sight of; it was to trace the passage of local groups, of primal food-gathering times, into the village communities of the food-producing post-primal period. The search for the intermediate stages which link the one period to the other has eluded us so far. But seeing that we have obtained evidence that tillage was practised at an earlier date on the Iranian plateau than elsewhere, it seems to me that we are justified in assuming that it was on the plateau that man made his exodus from a primal mode of existence, and so initiated a revolutionary change in life, which, slowly spreading abroad, ultimately involved almost the whole of mankind. I imagine that the mode by which he made his exodus was somewhat as follows: It was made most probably towards the beginning of the eighth millennium. Until then every group living on the plateau occupied its own territory and lived on the natural produce of that territory. One of these group territories, we may presume, had a fertile area where a wild form of wheat grew, and in the autumn, when the grain was ripe, the local group repaired to this area and, as is still the habit in some parts of native Australia, not only reaped the grain, but also stored it against the coming winter. We may also assume, from what is known of the mentality of the Australian aborigine, that the primitive Iranian regarded the wheat-plant as a gift of their local god—the god of

the soil and of fertility—and he had to be propitiated when they robbed him of his harvest. The natural way of appeasement would be a return of some of the ripe grain to the soil. The response of the soil by the production of new plants would convince the sower that this mode of sacrifice was accepted, and so encourage him or her—most likely her—to continue and extend the practice. When a sacrifice is made by primitive men, it has to be of the best. So it is probable that the best grains were returned to the soil, and thus the first stage in the improvement of wheat by cultivation was instituted. As this field of natural wheat increased in size and productivity, the local group would begin to depend on it more and more for its chief source of food. Ultimately they would anchor themselves by it, build settled abodes, and so bring into existence a village settlement. The group, of course, would still maintain its rights over its hunting territory as an additional source of food-supply. Possibly it added to this supply by the domestication of local animals.

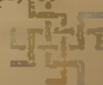
Thus, if my theory is well founded, the local group which was the evolutionary unit of the primal period became in the passage to the post-primal period a village settlement, but this settlement retained all the isolating attributes of the old evolutionary unit. The evolutionary machinery remained the same; only the form, size, and potentialities of the unit were changed. The territory which could provide sustenance for one local group became capable of supporting ten, or even twenty, such groups. The groups increased in size and number. The village communities we have noted at Siyalk and at Persepolis I regard as descendant of the original local groups, modified by the discoveries and accumulated experience of two millennia, but still retaining the essential features of "evolutionary units."

Herzfeld and other students of the village settlements of ancient Iran have been impressed by the absence from them of warlike equipment. The villages were open and unwallled; stone mace-heads and axes were found in them; there were sling-stones, but no arrow-heads or spearheads. The villagers were pacific in nature; they were not big-boned, big-bodied, warlike folk. There seems to have been little rivalry or competition between neighbouring settlements. To me this pacific disposition seems to be one which ought to be expected in a land where discovery had made it possible for twenty families or more to live con-

tentedly where there was previously room for only one family. The discovery of agriculture gave room and room to spare during the earlier millennia of the post-primal period. Such was the condition of the earlier peasantry of the plateau. But in time conditions changed. All the desirable arable areas became occupied; competition set in between neighbouring groups. Village settlements increased in size and in number. It was as towns began to appear that the paraphernalia of war came into existence. These, and other matters, will come up for consideration in the essay which follows.

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF VILLAGE UNITS INTO CITY UNITS

Synopsis.—Subject of essay outlined. Chronology of cultural periods. The coming of towns and cities in ancient Iran. Iran and Greater Mesopotamia compared. Assyria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia defined. The chronology of the cultural periods at Nineveh. Fate of Nineveh. The author assumes that Babylonia was "settled" by Assyrian peasantry before the end of the sixth millennium. Coming of Sumerians. The Sumerian settlement at al'Ubaid, and at Ur. The archaeological history of Erech. Development of theocratic government. The evolution of marsh villages into independent city-States. Estimates of the population of Babylonia; the size of its cities. In the course of 2,000 years the numerous, small, scattered village units of Babylonia were transformed into a score of independent city-States. The racial characters of the Sumerians. Their absorption by people of the Semitic stock. Contention and strife between the cities. Reduced to dependent status by Sargon of Agade. The ultimate fate of the cities. The evolutionary weakness of city-States.

IN the preceding essay my theme was the transformation of local communities of primal times into peasant village settlements; my thesis in this essay is the evolution of village settlements into city-States such as dominated life in early Babylonia. The change from a village stage of existence to the full city stage seems to imply the passage of a long period of time, yet as evidence now stands we must believe that such a transformation began to take place before the end of the fifth millennium. It must be apparent to my readers that the process of human evolution, as carried on between great city-States, and within them, must be a very different affair from that which prevailed in and between small local groups of primitive humanity.

To begin our search for evidence it will be convenient to

return again to the site of the ancient village of Siyalk on the Iranian plateau. Tepe Siyalk, it will be remembered, lies 200 miles south of the Caspian, and is now situated on the edge of the great central desert of Persia. Our first business at Siyalk is to formulate a time-scale which will permit us to compare the village strata and periods with those of the cities of Babylonia. We have seen that the deepest and oldest stratum at Siyalk (Siyalk I) is deemed to be of older date than the Mesopotamian culture of Tell Halaf, and is provisionally assigned to the end of the sixth millennium. The second cultural stratum at Siyalk (Siyalk II) is at present judged to be contemporaneous with the Halafian culture of Mesopotamia, and in the meantime is assigned to the first half of the fifth millennium. Then comes the third stratum at Siyalk (Siyalk III); this is judged to be contemporaneous with a culture which was widely spread in southern Iran in the latter half of the fifth century, and which has been named the Ubaid culture. The Ubaid culture, we shall find, became widely spread in Babylonia, and there supplies archæologists with a datum line.

My second reason for returning to Siyalk is to note the rise of ancient townships on the plateau. When Siyalk III was being laid down, and when the Ubaidian culture reigned in South Iran, a new township came into being at Tepe Hissar, which lay to the east of Damghan. Now, Tepe Hissar, which supplied us with information concerning the Iranian population (p. 280), lies nearly 250 miles to the north-east of Siyalk and fifty miles to the south of the Caspian. Between Hissar and the Caspian rise up the Elburz mountains. Streams rising in these mountains flow southwards until their waters are lost in the desert. Near one of these lost streams the township of Hissar was founded in the period of the Ubaid culture, and therefore in the latter half of the fifth millennium. The deepest stratum at Hissar (Hissar I) was contemporaneous with the Ubaid culture of the south. The cultural stratum which follows (Hissar II) is inferred to be of the same date as a culture which was widely distributed in Babylonia, and is known by the name of Uruk. This culture, at present, is attributed to the first half of the fourth millennium. Over Hissar II come two other cultural deposits which correspond to the Babylonian cultures known as Jemdet Nasr—attributed to the latter half of the fourth millennium—and that of the early Babylonian Dynasties (placed in the first half of the third mil-

lennium). After an existence of some 2,000 years the township of Hissar came to an end in the Early Dynastic period.¹ It was during the two last periods of culture that Hissar expanded and began to show traces of contact with the outer world; war chariots made an appearance and copper was more freely used for tools and for weapons. Thus villages were expanding into towns on the Iranian plateau during the fourth millennium.

When the township of Hissar was being established in the north during the latter half of the fifth millennium, people of the south, carrying with them the Ubaid culture, descended from the plateau and began to build the city of Susa on the eastern threshold of the Babylonian delta. The first city of Susa is said to have covered an area of 300 acres;² if it was built in the compact, warren-like way of Eastern cities, then we may reckon that each acre had about 500 inhabitants, giving a total population of 150,000. We may attribute the rapid growth of Susa to the fact that large areas of the central plateau were drying up into tracts of desert during the fifth millennium, while the delta lands were well watered and fertile. However this may have been, and whatever the exact population of early Susa was, the important fact for us is that city-States were coming into existence by the end of the fifth millennium. Thus I am assuming that in the course of 4,000 years the natives of the Iranian plateau passed from membership of small local units of food-gatherers to one which bound them in massed city units. Susa had a chequered life of 4,000 years; it was there, towards the end of the sixth century B.C., that Mordecai, the Jew, had the satisfaction of seeing his oppressor, Haman the Proud, hanged on a gallows "fifty cubits high," which he (Haman) had prepared for the Jew.

I now come to the major object of this essay—the rise of city-States in lands which, in later times, became known as Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. It is necessary to carry with us a broad idea of the position and size of these three lands. Assyria, which was nearly equal in size to England (50,000 square miles), was situated between the Tigris and the Zagros mountains and extended from the mountains of Khurdisan in the north to Susiana in the south. Mesopotamia, somewhat larger in area, lay between the Euphrates and Tigris and stretched from Khurdisan southwards to within forty miles of the city of Babylon. The area of Babylonia was only about 25,000 square miles, being

thus about twice the size of Holland. It extended from Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf.


In the preceding essay we had occasion to visit the site of Nineveh in northern Assyria. We must now return to that site to obtain a date which will link the history of Nineveh with the city-States of Babylonia. Such a date is supplied by a temple built in Nineveh by a grandson of Sargon of Agade. This temple is usually dated 2450 B.C., but it may be a century later. Between the foundation of this temple and the virgin soil there are seventy feet of deposits, in which a succession of five cultural periods can be recognized. The deepest or first stratum is that formed by the peasant villagers, whose manner of life was very similar to that we noted in the village settlements on the Iranian plateau at Siyalk some 500 miles distant from Nineveh. The second stratum at Nineveh (Nineveh II) was also laid down by villagers; they had become influenced by the Samarra culture, which appears to have been native to western Iran and is regarded as older than that of Ubaid. It is at the end of the second period that Halafian influences reached the Ninevite villagers. If we attribute the culture of Tell Halaf, which lies 120 miles to the west of Nineveh, to the first half of the fifth millennium, then we must allow Nineveh I and II a date well within the sixth millennium, giving them an antiquity as great, if not greater than, that of Siyalk I. The important point for us is that by the end of the sixth millennium the inhabitants of northern Assyria had long ceased to be members of local groups of food-gatherers; they had become peasants and lived together in village units.

The three cultural deposits which are interposed between the village strata and the overlying temple, covering a period of 1,500 years, mark the expansion of Nineveh into a city-State. No doubt it had its government, its laws, and its demarcated territory. It had become an evolutionary unit of a new kind. It began to rise into power in the latter part of the second millennium, became imperialistic and aggressive, a policy which led to its destruction before the end of the seventh century B.C., Assyria then becoming a Median province. At its zenith Nineveh is said to have covered an area of 1,800 acres. If we allow only 100 inhabitants to the acre, that means a population of 180,000; it may well have been twice this estimate. In the course of 5,000 years Nineveh passed from its beginning to its untimely end;

during that time some 200 generations had been born and died within its habitations. Nineveh, as a student of evolution measures values, was a failure; it failed because it lacked an essential quality—that which secures endurance.

Having thus obtained reliable evidence that peasant communities had been established in northern Assyria and in the adjacent region of northern Mesopotamia long before the end of the sixth millennium, we bend our steps southwards to the flat, reedy, marshy lowlands which in later times became known as Babylonia. Here we shall find no trace of peasant settlements as old as those of the north. Nay, all the evidence points to the conclusion that long after the art of agriculture had been developed in the north the marshes of Babylonia remained the home of local groups of primal fowlers and fishers. In the absence of direct evidence we have to infer what really happened. We infer, then, that the peasant villagers of the north slowly invaded the hunting-grounds of the primal groups of the south, establishing new settlements on the rich soil of the higher grounds or "islands" of the marshy country. Judging from modern instances, we may be sure that the native hunters retired sullenly before the peasant invaders, fighting many a rear-guard action, but were ultimately driven out. Thus I assume that by the end of the sixth millennium the whole of the marshlands of Babylonia had been settled by small colonies of the northern peasantry.

What was the racial nature of these northern Assyrian peasants? Here, too, the evidence is largely circumstantial, and yet very definite. At many ancient sites along the Tigris and along the Euphrates, sites which are reliably dated in the earlier half of the fourth millennium, representations of human features have been preserved, and among these the prevailing type is that to which I would give the term Assyrian. The arresting features of the Assyrian face are a prominent hooked form of nose, eyes widely open, lips full and somewhat everted, hairy people, thickly bearded in the unshaven; the head usually long, but may be rounded. The Assyrian features are still reproduced in a percentage of the Jewish and Armenian peoples. I do not suppose that, in even the purest and most inbred of communities, every one was of the Assyrian type; the genes needed to reproduce the Assyrian features were so distributed in the community that they came together only in a proportion of conceptions. Nevertheless the



reproduction of the Assyrian features is a racial character of the people we are now dealing with. The Assyrian features, I presume, were evolved among the Caucasian natives of the Anatolian area, which extends northwards from Mesopotamia and Assyria; and I also assume that the early peasants of Assyria were of this race and that it was this race which provided the first settlers in Babylonia.

Some time before the middle of the fifth millennium rumours seem to have reached the drought-stricken Iranians of the peace and plenty which crowned the lives of the peasant pioneers of Babylonia. We have seen that they descended to the lowlands to settle at Susa; another branch of Iranians is assumed to have passed into the lower delta areas of Babylonia and to have effected settlements on sites already occupied by the Assyrian pioneers. These Iranian invaders, whom we shall speak of henceforth as Sumerians, brought with them a form of "culture," which was first detected at al'Ubaid, and hence has been named Ubaidian. al'Ubaid, which lies in the desert four miles to the west of the city of Ur, was excavated by Dr. H. R. Hall and Sir Leonard Woolley after the first world war.³ The excavators found that, tempted by ground which rose high above the surrounding marshes, the Sumerians had made a settlement there. They sowed and reaped; they kept cattle; they were a dairying people. This culture which Woolley found on the surface at al'Ubaid he again encountered in the foundations of Ur; he had to dig to a depth of sixty feet to reach it. The founders of Ur building on the level marsh were bearers of the Ubaidian culture.

Of the various Sumerian cities that have been excavated down to the virgin soil, Erech has yielded the clearest information of the manner in which a marsh village became transformed into a great city. Erech—Uruk and Warka, are its other names—was separated from neighbouring cities by thirty to forty miles of intervening territory—the usual distance between Sumerian cities—although Ur, which lay down-stream from Erech, was only twelve miles distant from the most southern city, Eridu. Erech was excavated (1930-32) by a team of German archaeologists; ⁴ they had to pass through seventy feet of stratified deposit, representing five long cultural periods, to reach the original marsh surface. The six deepest strata (I-VI) represented developments of the Ubaid culture of the Sumerian villagers—

developments usually assigned to the latter half of the fifth millennium, being thus post-Halafian in date. The next seven strata (VII-XIII) carry objects of another cultural period—that of Uruk. This culture is regarded as a gradual development from the preceding Ubaidian culture, and is attributed to the first half of the fourth millennium. In this period at Erech we meet with ziggurats, with the foundations of superimposed temples of magnificent style and dimensions, with pictures of arm-tied captives, and of war chariots. The ziggurat and temple are signs that a theocratic government had been established; the priest-king had become recognized as the intermediary between the people of Erech and the God of Erech; the God owned the land and the people; to him all rents and revenues were paid.

After the Uruk period followed that of Jemdet Nasr (strata XIV-XV). In this cultural period, attributed to the latter half of the fourth millennium, temple-building continues and an early form of writing comes into use. Then follow strata attributed to the first half of the third millennium, the period of the "Early Dynasties," the period which saw Babylonian cities at the zenith of their development and with their hounds of war straining on the leash.

Looking at the surface of things with the eye of a student of human evolution, I try to discern the nature of the forces which, in 2,000 years, transformed marsh villages into great cities. This is how I imagine the transformation to have been effected. At the beginning we have village communities spread over the marshlands of Babylonia, each community being an independent unit, owning its territory and capable of its own defence. As tillage improved villages would increase in number and also in size of population. With these increases came the struggle between adjoining village communities, weaker villages combining against the stronger neighbour, until, finally, some one village, because of the courage and enterprise of its chief or of the natural fertility of its territory, or because of its favourable situation for trade, or of a combination of all three factors, became a central power, and the foundation of a city-State. Thus it happened that the 25,000 square miles of Babylonia became divided into the territories of some twenty independent city-States. What was the population of Babylonia when the city-States were at the height of their development? I can find no previous esti-

mate, but seeing the high state of irrigation and tillage then reached, it does not seem too much to allow 320 inhabitants for each square mile of territory, an allowance which gives Babylonia a maximum population of eight millions. The population of an average city with its surrounding territory would thus be about 400,000. This estimate may be checked in several ways. There are areas of city sites. The old, walled city of Ur covered 250 acres; if we allow 500 inhabitants to the acre, this gives a population for the city of 125,000; if we allow an equal number for the rural area, the total number of Urites would be 250,000. The later Ur is said to have had an area of over 5,000 acres, but much of this remained as open space. The city of Erech is given an area of 1,280 acres; at 500 inhabitants to the acre, this indicates a population of 640,000. The ruins of the city of Kish cover 120 acres, indicating a population of about 60,000; the walls included an area of over 6,000 acres. The township of Jemdet Nasr (3400 B.C.) covered an area of only seven acres, indicating a population of 3,500. Even if we halve these estimates, it is clear that the independent or evolutionary units in Babylonia had undergone a transformation in the course of 2,000 years. Many hundreds of small competing village communities had become changed into about a score of powerful, competing city-States.

In a racial sense, what sort of people were the Sumerians? Sir Leonard Woolley gave me an opportunity of examining and reporting on a sample of skulls from an Early Dynastic cemetery of Ur, presumably Sumerians.⁵ They had the same long, narrow, high heads as the early people of Siyalk and of Hissar (see p. 280); in size of brain they were quite the equal of modern Europeans. Their facial features were regular, the chin ample, and in a proportion of the men the nose was quite Assyrian in size and in shape. From this circumstance it does seem probable that the original peasant population had assimilated the Sumerians of Irania. Cultural and political influence spread from Sumer (the southern half of Babylonia) up the Tigris and Euphrates, but the Sumerian tongue remained confined to their own cities. By the beginning of the second millennium B.C. their tongue also had been conquered by that of the peasant pioneers; from which we may infer that the Semitic speech and the Semitic features have qualities which are at once stable, dominant, and persistent.

In the first half of the third millennium (Early Dynastic period)

we find the city-States of Babylonia in a state of contention and strife, each competing against the other. Lagash goes to war with its neighbour Umma to settle disputes about frontier and irrigation rights; Kish, Erech, and Ur, in turn, attempt to dominate the whole of Babylonia; after temporary successes the old spirit of local independence asserts itself. After the middle of the third millennium Sargon appears; he is a sprout from the old peasant (Assyrian) stock; he establishes his capital at Agade in northern Babylonia; becomes master of a standing army of 54,000 men; fights thirty-four battles, reduces all the other cities to dependencies, and so establishes an empire from "sea to sea." For 200 years the Sargonic dynasty had often to repress the spirit of local independence. When the dynasty of Sargon fell, Erech, Ur, and Larsa succeeded in turn to universal but temporary rule. And so we reach the beginning of the second millennium B.C., when Hammurabi of Babylon, like Sargon, a Semite, again reduced all the other cities to a dependent status and established a single law and god throughout the land. In 1740 B.C. the government of Babylon was interrupted by another Iranian invasion (Kassite), which survived until the rise of Assyrian power towards the end of the fourteenth century; then the brief resuscitation of Babylonian power (635-539 B.C.); this was brought to an end by another Iranian invasion—the arrival of the Persians under Cyrus. Local government broke down; irrigation channels became clogged; food failed, and life in the cities of Babylonia flickered out. Some inhabitants, I suspect, sought homes in other cities, but most probably joined local tribal communities. Thus some 4,000 years after emerging from a tribal state most of the inhabitants of Babylonia returned to that state.

It was my intention to follow the rise of city-States in Asia Minor, in Crete, in Greece (both in Mycenaean and Athenian times), in northern Italy (A.D. 1000-1500), and in Germany (Frankfort and the cities of the Hanseatic League). This seems to me now unnecessary; the lesson they have to teach us is that which we have already learned from Babylonia—namely, that from a evolutionary point of view, city-States carry a weakness which sooner or later proves mortal. All go the way of Nineveh. What the nature of that weakness is may come to light by the survey of a people which has maintained a continuity of at least 8,000 years. Hence my next essay is devoted to Egypt.

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EGYPT AS THE OLDEST HOME OF NATION-BUILDING

Synopsis.—Egypt the oldest of historical nations. Definition of Nation. How formed. The national rise of Egypt compared with that of Babylonia. Conditions favouring the formation of a nation in Egypt. The Egyptians were and are a peasant people. Their mentality; Egyptian dough and Babylonian leaven. Egypt has been claimed to have been the cradle of the world's civilization. The prior claims of Asia. Evidence of the early arrival of Asiatics in Egypt. Estimates of the population of Egypt in primal and in post-primal times. The Egyptians as a national or evolutionary unit. National life was interrupted from time to time by reversion to a multi-tribal state. Egypt under foreign domination. Sovereignty not essential to give a people a national status. The Arabization of Egypt. The physical history of the Egyptians is more complete than that of any other people. A nation has the power to assimilate foreign types to its own. Anthropological inquiries favour the conclusion that modern Egyptians have reverted to the pre-dynastic type. The origin of the Egyptians; their nearest relatives. How the Semitic and Hamitic tongues may have sprung from a common root. The possibility of an early settlement in the delta of a people of the Caucasian stock.

ABOUT the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. the tribal communities of Lower Egypt, each living on its own territory, began to be amalgamated under a dominant chief who succeeded in establishing a kingdom. A parallel process took place in Upper Egypt; the score or more of tribal groups or nomes, strung like beads along the banks of the Nile from Aswan downwards for a stretch of over 300 miles, were brought under a single government by the chief of the Falcon Nome or clan, who thus became king of Upper Egypt. His home territory was on the east bank of the river some forty miles below the site which Aswan now occupies.¹

A century or two before the end of the fourth millennium—the date usually accepted is 3300 B.C.—war broke out between the two kings, victory going to the Falcon King of Upper Egypt. Of the vanquished 6,000 are said to have been slain and 12,000 taken prisoner. Thus was brought into existence the first nation (in the modern sense) of which we have record. The first nation was brought into existence by war; war has proved to be the midwife of nations ever since. It is also worthy of note that when the first pharaoh established rule in Egypt the separatist cities of Babylon were in the Jemdet stage of their cultural evolution.

What do I mean by a nation—in the modern sense? Let me base my definition by taking Ancient Egypt as an illustration: (a) A single central government was established; (b) the people so ruled occupied an extensive continuous country, one which extended from the Mediterranean to the first cataract—a distance of 550 miles as a plane flies. (c) The tribal communities, or nomes, gradually forgot their local differences and became conscious of membership of a larger or national unit; or to state the same thing in other words—the men of the nomes transferred, to the central pharaoh, wholly or in part, the allegiance formerly given to their local chiefs. (d) The love of an Egyptian for his home-territory—his patriotism—extended to all parts inhabited by his fellow subjects. (e) The Egyptians became conscious that they and their nation were separate from, and different from, all other nations and peoples. (f) They became speakers of the same tongue, heirs of the same customs and of the same tradition, subjects of the same laws, and believers in the same gods; all of these attributes served as national bonds. (g) They became aware that their personal security and safety were bound up with that of their country and learned that national security can be bought only at the price of personal sacrifice.

To make all these national feelings glow with a steady ardour required the passage, not of one, but of many generations. Fate smiled on the early dynasties of Egypt; from the first Dynasty to the sixth, covering a period of over 800 years, central government remained strong and the nation united. During that time more than thirty generations came and went; one would have thought that a unity, after prevailing over this long period, would have become consolidated as a permanent element in the national

tradition. The event proved that this was not the case ; in times when central government became weak local chiefs again rose to power.

Why was it that the local village communities of Babylonia developed into a number of independent single States while those of Egypt became merged, at a stride, into one great national unit? There were several reasons, the chief being the distribution of arable and inhabitable land in Egypt. The desert encroached so closely to both banks of the Nile that only narrow green verges remained for habitation. Nowhere could rebellious minorities retreat to mountainous fastnesses ; all were exposed on the river-banks ; a central government using the Nile as a highway could bring a superior force to bear on any recalcitrant nome. That, I think, was the main factor in the early nationalization of the Egyptians. Another factor was the passion of the Egyptian peasant for his soil. To be stable a population must be based on the land. In Babylonia peasant villagers freely left the land to live in towns and share in trade. To these factors there is one more to be added—namely, the mentality of the ancient Egyptians. They were more apt to obey and follow than to lead and command. They were deficient in the ability needed to invent and to initiate, but were clever at copying and modifying. Theirs was not a jealous competitive mentality. In those mental qualities where the Egyptian fell short the Babylonian abounded. Plainly an addition of a little Babylonian leaven to the Egyptian dough should be attended by happy results. It was something of this kind which actually happened at the dawn of civilization.

It will repay us to look at the ancient Egyptians through the eyes of my friend and fellow-anatomist, Grafton Elliot Smith (1871-1937). He was born in Australia,² educated for medicine in the Universities of Sydney and of Cambridge, and was called to fill the chair of anatomy in the Government Medical College, Cairo, in 1900, and there he remained until 1909. During his stay in Egypt discovery after discovery was throwing a new light on the early history of Egypt, not only on that of the first Dynasty of Kings (3300-3200 B.C.), but also on that of the preceding or pre-dynastic period, carrying the prehistory of Egypt back to the middle of the fifth millennium B.C. After making a thorough study of the pre-dynastic inhabitants of Egypt,³ Elliot Smith became more and more impressed with the importance of their

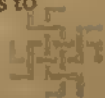


culture. So completely had Egypt preserved every stage in the evolution of its culture that he became convinced that civilization had been born and cradled on the banks of the lower Nile and nowhere else. He had great courage as well as conviction; there was no rest for him until he had tried to bring the world to his way of thinking. Long before Elliot Smith commenced his advocacy many experts regarded Egypt as the mother of civilization. If this were really the case, then all the early cultures we have encountered in Iran and Babylonia should be traceable to Egypt.

Between the two world wars our knowledge of the ancient cultures of S.W. Asia went forwards at an amazing pace; the Indus Valley proved to be at one extremity of the area of culture, Egypt at the other. The central position of the Iranian plateau and the early cultures already discovered there make it probable that it was the inhabitants of this part of Asia who initiated the cultural movement which has revolutionized the grouping of mankind. The Egyptians and Indians were copyists rather than creators. In the case of Egypt there is evidence that she received immigrants at an early date. In 1895 five small ancient burying-places on the west bank of the Nile near Abydos were opened by the celebrated French archæologist, J. de Morgan; these early graves are now dateable to about the middle of the fifth millennium, the time at which the Sumerians are supposed to have brought the Ubaidian culture to Babylonia. The people buried in these early graves were described by Dr. Fouquet.⁵ They differed altogether from the pre-dynastic Egyptians, and were of a type found by Sir Leonard Woolley at Ur. They had big heads and brains (the latter being in point of size equal to those of modern Europeans), whereas the pre-dynastic brain fell about 100 c.c. below the European average. A still older culture, the Tasian, was discovered (1927-9) by Mr. Guy Brunton in Middle Egypt on the east bank of the Nile;⁶ it is usually assigned to the earlier part of the fifth millennium, and would be thus contemporary with the Halafian culture of Mesopotamia; it may even be late sixth millennium. The Tasians were agriculturalists; their cranial characters indicate an Asiatic rather than an Egyptian origin. Whether or not the earliest traces of the art of agriculture in Egypt are older than any found so far in Asia is debatable,⁷ but when all the evidence is taken into account I am of opinion that Asia has the better claim.

I am assuming, then, that down to the end of the seventh millennium the inhabitants of Egypt were in a primal state of existence, obtaining a living by hunting and by food-gathering. I am assuming, too, that by this time desert conditions had set in and that only the narrow valley, some 550 miles in length when all its bends are allowed for, afforded the inhabitants subsistence. What was the population of Egypt then? And how was it organized? We have seen (p. 269) that it needs one square mile of fertile land to support a single individual in primal times; the fertile arable land of modern Egypt is reckoned to be 12,000 square miles. If we take this as a measure of the country available to the food-gatherers, then the total population of primal Egypt was 12,000 souls. More than half of the arable land is in the delta, less than half along the 550 miles of valley. As the valley was the better hunting country we shall assign half of the population to the valley area and half to the delta. Six thousand people spread in groups along 550 miles of valley gives nine to each mile of the river. A local group is likely to have occupied a territory extending about ten miles along the valley, and would thus be made up of about ninety members—men, women, and children. The population of the valley would thus be divided into about fifty-five separate local communities. We may assume that the primal population of the delta was also separated into local communities similar in size to those of the valley, giving a total of over one hundred independent evolutionary units in primal Egypt. As agriculture prospered the local groups became swollen in size; they also became fewer in number owing to fusion of local groups. In the pre-dynastic period these local territorial groups became known as *nomes*.

We are now in a position to appreciate what the union of the Crowns (3300 B.C.) means to the student of human evolution. The population of Egypt which, in primal times, was arranged in a myriad of independent small communities, became, in dynastic times, fused into one huge unit. With this union the struggle between local groups was eased, but the dangers of a struggle with peoples outside the bounds of Egypt were heightened. Against outside enemies Egypt was most fortunately situated. Everywhere she was protected by desert save at her southern end (where she bordered on the valley tribes of Nubia) and at her northern or Mediterranean frontier, where a land bridge gave Asiatics access to



the fertile marshlands of the delta. From pre-dynastic times onwards it was by this Asiatic bridge that her immigrants and invaders made their approach.

Thanks to the progress of irrigation and tillage the population of Egypt, which we have estimated at 12,000 in primal times, numbered, in the more flourishing dynastic eras, about seven millions.⁸ The square mile which supported only a single being became capable of nourishing over 580 lives. At the present time (1946) the population of Egypt is estimated at seventeen millions, which implies that for each arable square mile there are 1,400 inhabitants—double the number met with in the most densely populated countries of Europe. When we consider such changes as these, we are compelled to admit that the spade and hoe have revolutionized the conditions of human evolution.

I am regarding the Egyptian nation as an evolutionary unit—the first of its kind to come into existence. It has now a history of more than 5,000 years; no other nation has retained its individuality over such a lengthy period. It provides the evolutionist with an opportunity of discovering wherein lies the strength and also the weakness of the national unit. The weakness which interrupted national life was the reversion to a multi-tribal state when the central government declined in power. The first "interruption," which marks the end of the Old Kingdom and the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, began in the weakness of the sixth Dynasty and was ended by the local Theban chief who established the eleventh Dynasty and so restored unity. The second interruption, which, like the first, lasted for about two centuries, separated the Middle Kingdom from the New Kingdom; again unity was restored by a Theban chief—the founder of the eighteenth Dynasty. The New Kingdom began strongly, but time after time the former weakness reappeared; disruption was succeeded by restoration until the Assyrian conquest of 665 B.C. Egypt then entered on her long period of foreign domination; what the Assyrians began was continued by one Power after another—Persian, Greek, Roman, Arab, Turk, and finally British. At this present moment (August, 1946) negotiations are on foot for a complete withdrawal of British armed forces from Egyptian soil. Thus after a lapse of twenty-five centuries Egypt resumes her absolute sovereignty—in so far as a nation can be sovereign in the modern world.

Readers may have noted that in my definition of a nation at the beginning of this essay there was one qualification I did not mention—that of sovereignty. Viscount Bryce,⁹ for example, denied that Wales and Scotland were nations, because they were no longer sovereign Powers. Has that fact deprived these peoples of their national spirit or even damped it? The opposite is the case; it has tended to strengthen their feeling of difference and their determination to nurse their separate national traditions. It was so in the case of the Egyptians; foreign domination never destroyed their sense of apartness; the fellaheen which form the body of the nation to-day are the lineal descendants of the fellaheen of 3300 B.C. It is true that the peasants of Egypt have always been passive rather than active nationalists; they have been content to follow those in command; they have never been democrats. But these limitations do not take away from the nationhood of the Egyptians. They are an inbreeding isolated people; they have been so from pre-dynastic times; they are determined to remain so. Every such people is a nation.

In only one period of the later history of Egypt was there a large influx of new blood (or genes). This was in the centuries which followed the eviction of the Byzantine and the installation of Arab power (A.D. 639-41). An Arab force of less than 15,000 men succeeded in doing this at a time when the Egyptians numbered several millions.¹⁰ The Egyptians were conquered, not by the sword, but by the Koran. As the Egyptians learned to read that book they also learned to speak a new tongue—that of the Arabs. The Bedouin desert tribes which hovered on the verge of the sown lands sometimes gave up their nomadic life, settled on the soil and inter-married with the fellaheen. In this way a half-million of Arabs were added to the native population.¹¹ The process still goes on. So completely have the Egyptians become Arabized in mind that they claim (at least their leaders claim for them) a place among the Arab peoples. If the mind of the Egyptian has been affected, his body seems to have escaped, for, as we shall see presently, extensive examinations made by anthropologists have detected no measurable change in the body. This may be due to the fact that the Bedouin, in a physical sense, is not unlike the Egyptian. Or it may be that the change effected has escaped detection by the anthropological technique employed.

Records of the dead have been preserved far more perfectly in

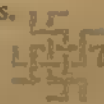
Egypt than in any other land. Skulls and skeletons have been recovered and measured from graves which range in date from earliest pre-dynastic times down to the Egyptians buried in the period of the Roman occupation. We thus know the physical history of the Egyptian nation far more completely than that of any other people. Our knowledge of the bodily characters of the pre-dynastic Egyptians was first made known to us by Elliot Smith;¹² he found them to have been a slim people of short stature (5 ft. 5 in.), with elongated but relatively small skulls. In more recent times Dr. G. M. Morant¹³ has instituted an elaborate comparison of skulls recovered from cemeteries of all parts of Egypt and of all dates down to that of the Roman occupation. His two main conclusions are these. Down to the Early Dynastic period the Lower Egyptians differed from the Upper Egyptians by having wider and larger skulls and also bigger faces. He found evidence that, as time went on, the type of Lower Egypt spread up the Nile and gradually replaced the Upper type. He also found that, in a racial sense, the historic Egyptians became a homogenous people.

How do the Egyptians of to-day compare with those of ancient times? I shall cite only three authorities. First, the late Dr. Charles S. Myers,¹⁴ who collected data among living Egyptians at the beginning of the twentieth century. He found the same form and size of head prevailing from the delta to the first cataract as prevailed in ancient times; he observed that the skin tended to darken and the nose to widen as he passed from Lower to Upper Egypt. He compared measurements taken on the living with measurements taken on the long-past dead of the same province and found the degree of variability to be the same in both. Then there are the calculations made by Mr. J. I. Craig¹⁵ on many thousands of prisoners drawn from all the provinces of modern Egypt. Everywhere the mean breadth of the head varied from 74 to 75 per cent of the length. One of his observations I regard as of particular importance—there is a tendency for each province to produce its own particular physical type. That I infer to be the result of local inter-marriage. My third witness is Professor Sydney Smith,¹⁶ who during his professional residence in Cairo had many opportunities of comparing the skulls of modern Egyptians with those of pre-dynastic times. His data forced him to the conclusion that in spite of minor cranial

changes, the modern Egyptian had, in a physical sense, reverted to the pre-dynastic type—this had happened in spite of all the disturbance and the influx of strange blood which had occurred in the long period of 7,000 years. At the end of that period the pre-dynastic type, like Pharaoh's "ill-favoured and lean-fleshed kine," had swallowed up and made all of its own kind. Flinders Petrie counted the power to assimilate other types to its own as a mark of a nation or race. Certainly the Egyptians had this power. The matter which arrests our attention, however, is Professor Smith's main conclusion. What does a nation profit if it endure for 5,000 years and find that at the end of that period it has, in an evolutionary sense, gone backwards rather than forwards? Is the reversion a result of the fusion of a myriad of small competing groups into one massive national unit? To this problem I shall return in a future essay.

What is the relationship of the Egyptians to other peoples of North Africa and to those of S.W. Asia? To obtain an answer we have to go back to the later part of the Pleistocene period, when climatic conditions were very different from what they are to-day. The upland sandy wastes on each side of the Nile were then habitable; so were large areas of Arabia. We have seen (Essay XXIV) that in late Pleistocene times the Hamitic peoples of Africa were linked, by a series of transitional forms, with the Dravidians of India. Thus the Egyptians would be distantly related to the peoples of India. Their relationship to the dark-skinned, fuzzy-haired Hamitic peoples was nearer and more direct. Even to-day they are united to the peoples in the heart of Africa by a chain of transitional types lying along the valley of the Nile. Perhaps their closest relationship is to the Libyans occupying the upland country to the west of the Delta and extending along the shores of the Mediterranean. When the uplands turned to desert, their inhabitants had to seek homes elsewhere—in the valley of the Nile, on the shores of the Red Sea, and along those of the Mediterranean. Thus the ancestors of the pre-dynastic Egyptians were cut off from other members of their race, from the Libyans on the west and the Red Sea peoples on the east. But the link with tropical Africa continued.

In all our speculations concerning the origin of the ancient Egyptians there is one circumstance we must not lose sight of. This is the relationship of their Hamitic speech to that of the Arabs.



Scholars seem to be agreed that the Hamitic and Semitic languages have been evolved from a common root and that the speakers of these tongues must have lived beside each other at one time. To obtain a satisfactory explanation we must give our attention for a moment to the origin of the Arabs. The solution I offer is this. Long before the discovery of agriculture, even before Egypt was separated from Arabia by the Red Sea, when the dark-skinned aborigines of Arabia were leading the lives of primitive food-gatherers, they were invaded by a Caucasian people from the north. The invaders interbred with the natives and learned the native speech, which I suppose to have been an early form of the Semitic tongue near akin to the Hamitic. Thus I regard the Arabs as a cross between the original natives of Arabia and a branch of the Caucasian stock. Such an explanation has the twofold advantage in giving a reasonable explanation of the physical characters of the peoples of Arabia, as well as the relationship of the Hamitic to the Semitic tongues.

One other circumstance must be considered before coming to a final decision concerning the origin of the Egyptians. In Essay XXVI I developed the idea that the transformation of Neanderthal man into the Caucasian type had taken place in S.W. Asia, and that from a centre in Asia the Caucasian stock spread westwards, not only into Europe, but also into Africa north of the Sahara. If such had been the case—and the evidence in favour is strong¹⁷—then Caucasians may have settled in Lower Egypt at a date long prior to the pre-dynastic period. The larger-headed type found in Lower Egypt may thus be of Caucasian origin.

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EVOLUTION OF NATIONALITIES IN EUROPE ILLUSTRATED BY THAT OF SCOTLAND

Synopsis.—*Why Scotland was chosen to illustrate the process of nation-building. Agricola's invasion of Scotland. A national spirit manifested by the Caledonians. The tribal territories of Scotland. The origin of the tribal peoples encountered by Agricola. First settlers. The "harpoon people." Settlers on the east coast and on the west coast during the second millennium B.C. The Celts. The coming of the Irish and the Anglo-Saxons. In the sixth century Scotland was divided into four kingdoms. By the thirteenth century these four kingdoms had become fused into one and the basis of a single nation was thus laid. The nationalization of the people was completed in the eighteenth century. The racial elements which went to the making of the Scottish nation. Nation-building in Egypt was 4,500 years ahead of that in Scotland. Manifestations of patriotism in the thirteenth century. The urge for independence. The author holds that independence is not an essential factor in nationality. The assimilation of one nation by another rarely takes place. There is a confederation of British nations, but there is no British nation. The nature of nationality. Definition of a nation. In Scotland the clan or tribal spirit was transformed into a national spirit.*

FROM nation-building in Egypt we turn to nation-building in Europe. Up to the autumn of 1939 the wide expanse of Europe was partitioned into twenty-six national territories, the inhabitants of each of these territories regarding themselves as not only separated from, but also different from, the occupants of all other territories. Each nation claimed to be independent of the others; all sought to control their own evolutionary destiny. In a previous series of essays¹ I have given brief accounts of the rise of three European nationalities—namely, those of England, France, and Germany. In the present essay I propose to trace the origin of

the Scottish nation, my choice being determined by two considerations; first, because what is true of nation-building in Scotland is true of nation-building on the Continent; second, because, having been born and bred in Scotland, I am familiar with the strength and nature of the national spirit of that land, at first hand, whereas my experience of nationalism of other lands has been gained later in my life and at second hand.

In the year 80 of our era Agricola led a Roman army northwards across the Tweed and thus brought that part of Britain now known as Scotland into the page of history.² Having overrun the homelands of five separate peoples or tribes, he reached the Forth-Clyde isthmus, where he erected a line of forts. North of this line Scotland was inhabited by Caledonian tribes some thirteen or fifteen in number, each having its own territory. In the autumn of the year 85 Agricola led his army into the heart of the Caledonian country until the Grampians came into full view.

There, on rising ground, he found the tribal forces of the Caledonians drawn up in battle array. He estimated the hostile army at 30,000 men and found it was commanded by Galgacus, a Caledonian chief. At this stage Tacitus makes Galgacus address his troops in a speech which breathes the fierce spirit of nationalism, a fact which ought to astonish those historians who are of the opinion that the national spirit appeared in Europe for the first time in the fifteenth century A.D. Galgacus in his appeal to the Caledonians said:—

"We are the men who never crouched in bondage. Beyond this spot there is no land where liberty can find a refuge . . . children and relatives are dear to us all. It is an affection planted in our breast by the hand of nature. Are our wives, our sisters, and our daughters, safe from brutal lust and open violation? . . . The Romans by a strange singularity of nature are the only people who invade with equal ardour the wealth and the poverty of nations. To rob, to ravage, and to murder, in their imposing language, are the arts of civil policy. When they have made the world a solitude they call it peace. . . . And shall not we, unconquered, and undebased by slavery, a nation ever free, and struggling now, not to recover but to ensure our liberties, shall we not go forth the champions of our country?"

On the other hand, the speech which Tacitus put into the mouth of his father-in-law, Agricola, is a vigorous exposition of the Roman policy of conquest, a policy which involves the destruction of local nationalities. In this speech Agricola said:—

“It is now, my fellow soldiers, the eighth year of our service in Britain. During that time, the genius and good auspices of the Roman Empire, with your assistance and unwearied labours, have made the islands our own. . . . We have carried the terror of our arms beyond the limits of any former general; we have penetrated the extremity of the land. . . . Britain is discovered, and by the discovery conquered. . . . One victory more makes this new world our own.”

The extracts, quoted above, from the two speeches bring us in touch with the forces which are ever at work in building a people into a nation. The appeal by Galgacus proved of no avail; the morning after the battle saw the Caledonian tribesmen in disorderly retreat, each to his own territory, leaving 10,000 dead on the fatal field. This signal victory proved to be a barren one for Rome, for ultimately she found it expedient to leave Scotland outside the limits of her empire.

Scotland, then, in the first century of our era was divided into about a score of separate and independent tribal States. We have now to inquire into the origin of these tribal inhabitants of Scotland. Where did the ancestors of these peoples come from? When and how did they reach the country now named Scotland? In seeking to answer these questions we have to remember that Scotland—and the same is true of Scandinavia—became fit for human habitation with the final retreat of the ice-sheet, an event usually assigned to the tenth or twelfth millennium before our era began. At that time, and for long after, the Rhine flowed northwards along a plane now submerged in the bed of the North Sea; Britain was thus connected with the Continent by a wide land bridge. Along the continental as well as along the British shores of the North Sea are found many traces of the “harpoon people,” so named because of the harpoon heads they fashioned out of bone. They were people of the Caucasian stock, very similar, so far as our limited knowledge of them permits us to go, to the late cave men of Western Europe. The stone and bone

culture of the harpoon people has been traced across northern England and into southern and western Scotland; it has also been traced into Norway and Sweden. These rude, savage, food-gathering, harpoon people seem to have provided both Scotland and Scandinavia with their first inhabitants. Their arrival in Scotland is usually assigned to the eighth millennium B.C.³ This, too, is the date we have assigned to beginnings of agriculture on the Iranian plateau.

Before the dawn of the second millennium B.C., land and sea had taken on their present form. The practice of agriculture was appearing on the Continent and its inhabitants were increasing in numbers; new homes were in demand. Sea power had become a factor in the spread of peoples. Early in this millennium galleys were crossing the North Sea, and landing fresh settlers along the east coast of Scotland from John O' Groats to Berwick.⁴ These new arrivals, usually spoken of as the "beaker people," brought with them their domesticated animals, and a knowledge of agriculture; they were round-headed, being of central European derivation. While the eastern lands of Scotland were being thus colonized, its western lands were receiving new inhabitants from a totally different source. These new settlers in the west came from Brittany, from France, and from Spain.⁵ Late in the third millennium, and all through the centuries of the second millennium, the Irish Sea had become part of a shipping lane which continued up the west coast of Scotland to Baltic lands. Along this route came the "long-barrow" peoples, dark-haired and narrow-headed pastoralists, who effected settlements at various points, many of them being on the western shores of Scotland. Thus eastern Scotland received its new settlers from lands lying on the opposite side of the North Sea, while western Scotland became the home of peoples from the south-western parts of Europe. For long these eastern and western colonists remained apart because the central parts of Scotland were covered by thick forests.

From 800 B.C. onwards the enterprising Celtic-speaking peoples of the Continent increased rapidly in numbers and spread as rulers into France, Spain, and ultimately to the British Isles. Some four or five centuries before the coming of the Romans, Celtic tribes invaded southern Scotland, and gradually spread throughout the land, giving its inhabitants new rulers, a new speech, new



arts, both of peace and of war.⁶ Such, then, is a brief account of the origins of the tribal peoples of Scotland who fought the Roman invaders in the first century of our era.

After the departure of the Romans from Britain at the beginning of the fifth century, two additions of the highest importance were made to the population of Scotland—one on the west coast, the other on the east. We shall take the Irish settlement on the west coast first. A long tongue of land extends from the south-western part of Scotland (Argyll) towards N.E. Ireland. It was at the base of this tongue of land on which three tribes from N.E. Ireland settled at the end of the fifth century of our era. There is ample evidence of intercommunication between Ulster and Argyll for 2,000 years before this date, but historians are agreed that it was the settlement of the Irish Scots at Dalriada at the end of the fifth century that brought the Gaelic tongue and Gaelic dominion to Scotland.⁷ The Scots extended their dominion over the western tribes very slowly. The arrival of missionaries from Ireland in the sixth century (St. Columba, 521-98) taught the inhabitants of Scotland to read the Bible in the Gaelic tongue, and thus prepared the way for the extension of the rule of the chief or king of the Dalriad Scots. The Koran made the Egyptians speakers of Arabic; the Bible made the inhabitants of Scotland speakers of Gaelic.

So much for the Irish settlement on the west coast; we now turn to the Anglo-Saxon conquest and colonization on the east coast. By the middle of the sixth century the kingdom of Bernicia extended from the Tees to the Forth. Thus at this date there were four kingdoms in what is now Scotland; south of the Forth-Clyde line there was that of Bernicia on the east, and that of the Welsh-speaking kingdom of Strathclyde on the west; north of the Forth-Clyde line was the kingdom of the Celtic Picts on the east and the kingdom of the Scots in the west. The hammers which beat these four kingdoms into one were provided by the royal dynasty of the kings of the Scots. In 1057 Malcolm III was crowned at Scone as king of Scotland. But even then the Scottish people can hardly be called a nation. A common tradition had not then been established.

There are two important omissions in my list of peoples which went to the making of the Scottish nation—namely, the Norse

and the Danes. Early in the second millennium the migration stream off the west coast of Scotland was directed towards Norway and the Baltic, but before the end of the ninth century A.D. the tide had turned; the Norse began to colonize Caithness, the Orkneys, the Hebrides, and lands along the west coast. The threat of a Norwegian domination of Scotland was removed by the battle of Largs in the reign of Alexander III (1259-83). The victory at Largs was not the only contribution that this king made to the unification of Scotland. Under him the English speech of southern Scotland became the national tongue, save in the Highlands, where heart and tongue remained loyal to ancient tradition. He planted feudal lords in tribal territories, hoping thus to break up the clannish spirit of the Highlanders, but in vain. Even at the end of the sixteenth century there were still thirty-four clans, each loyal to its chief. It required the cruel and brutal practices which followed the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 to root out the tribal spirit of the Highlanders and to establish a unity of government in Scotland. Even now the Highland spirit is not dead.

We see, then, from the example of Scotland, how tedious, prolonged, precarious, and cruel the business is of welding a diversity of peoples into a single evolutionary unit—that is, into a nation. The processes employed to bring about amalgamation have been those of statecraft, education, social ostracism, and war. The peoples incorporated came from all the countries of Western Europe—Norwegians, Danes, Germans, Flemings, Dutch, French, and Spaniards in varying proportions, to say nothing of the harpoon people, the beaker folk, and the men of the long-barrow type. Ireland, too, had made her contribution, and still continues to add to it. It is true that all these peoples had undergone a local differentiation in the lands from whence they came, and it is customary to speak of them as races, a usage which I shall justify in my next essay. But it has to be remembered that all these races or peoples are the progeny of one stock—the Caucasian—and were so alike in their physical characters that the most expert anthropologist cannot distinguish the skull and skeleton of one race from those of another. When mingled, as they have been in the Scottish nation, it is impossible to say of any given man whether he is of Celtic or of Saxon origin. It has taken about 10,000 years to build the Scottish nation. It is worthy of note that the stage of national evolution attained in Egypt thirty-three

centuries before the birth of Christ was reached in Scotland twelve centuries after that event. Nation-building in Egypt was forty-five centuries ahead of the same process in Scotland. What is true of Scotland is also true of all the nationalities of Europe; indeed, in several of the countries of Europe nation-building is still at the stage reached by Scotland in the thirteenth century.

There can be no nation-building unless all the people of a country are imbued with patriotic feelings—feelings which give their native land and their fellow-subjects a special place in their affections. One other passion, one which seems so irrational to the uninitiated, is also essential—a passion which drives them to seek the freedom or independence of their country. Earlier in this essay I quoted from the patriotic speech attributed to Galgacus, the Caledonian chief. Let me now quote from a speech which George Buchanan (1506–84) imputes to Wallace, the heroic leader of Scottish Independence. After the battle of Falkirk (1297) Wallace is supposed to have met Bruce, then fighting on the side of the English invaders, and chides him in the following terms:—

When I saw my countrymen, by your slothfulness, destitute of governors and exposed not to slavery only, but even to the butchery of a cruel enemy, I had pity on them, and undertook the cause which you deserted; neither will I forsake the liberty, good, and safety of my countrymen till life forsake me. . . . I will die free in my country which I have often defended; and my love to it shall remain as long as my life continues.”⁹

Here we see in Wallace a contest between two of the strongest of man's inborn instincts or passions—the passion for life and the passion for country and nation; he preferred to die for his country rather than to live at ease in England. Strange and strong passions are needed for the task of nation-building. Dr. Agnes Mure Mackenzie¹⁰ cites an earlier instance of Scottish patriotism, this time manifested by the common people. It is recorded that when Henry III of England invaded Scotland in 1242 “the people came out not fearing death for their own country.” No matter what size an “evolutionary unit” may be—whether it be only a small local group, a large tribe, or a

great nation—it is always animated by the urge of independence, of separation from all surrounding units. Only if a nation is independent, is it free to work out its untrammelled evolutionary destiny.

Must a people, then, possess complete independence—free exercise of sovereign powers—before it can be regarded as a nation? Such was the opinion of Viscount Bryce, who defined a nation thus: "Whenever a community has both political independence and a distinctive character, recognizable in its members as well as in the whole body, we call it a nation. . . . It must feel and act as a whole."¹¹ He therefore denied that the peoples of Scotland and of Wales were nations. This is also the opinion of the group of experts who reported on "Nationalism" in 1939;¹² they regard a nation as a "political unit" and speak of "the Scots and Welsh as having been assimilated in Great Britain."

Now, the power of assimilation is a character of a nation. Let us take England as an example; she takes into her midst natives of Scotland, of Wales, and of Ireland, and in two generations makes them indistinguishable from true natives. But the assimilation of one whole nation by another is a very different matter. When James VI of Scotland crossed the Tweed to become James I of England he united in his person the loyalty and allegiance of both the English and the Scots, but the boundary between the two nations remained as firmly fixed at the Tweed as in former times. The Act of Union (1707), which merged the parliament of Scotland in that of England, was a union of "heads," not of "hearts"; the national heart of Scotland continued to beat with as steady and strong a pulse as before. Under the shelter of England national life in Scotland was more secure than it would have been had she continued to face a warring world independent and alone. The union of Scotland to England is a federation, not a fusion. I hold, then, that a nation is much more than a "political unit"; the forces and mental qualities which go to the making of a nation are parts of the evolutionary machinery which no independent people can by-pass.

When I say that the sense of nationality is deeply rooted in the Scot, I am speaking of the mass, not of the individual. To make my meaning clear I shall use a simile. Every babe is born with the desire and power to suck and is fed on milk; as it grows up its



mind, like its body, develops an appetite; that, too, has to be fed; it is fed on the lore contained in the national tradition. Thus the creation of a national spirit requires two factors, a mental factor and a material factor, the material factor being the national tradition. The outlook and reactions of a whole people could be changed only by rooting out the old national tradition and putting in its place a new one—a Herculean undertaking. But what is so difficult in the case of the mass is easy in the case of the individual. Scotsmen emigrate to the United States, to Canada, to South Africa, to Australia and New Zealand, and in the countries of their adoption feed on a new national tradition which, in time, replaces the old. This is made possible because the emigrant carries in him or her an inborn social appetite.

British passports are issued daily, but is there a British nation? Certainly not within the United Kingdom; here there are only English, Welsh, Irish, and Scottish. We are a confederation of nations, each wedded to its own national tradition. The only peoples which could legitimately claim to be British are the nations now developing in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada; the major part of their populations have been derived from all parts of the British Isles.

What, then, are the essential characteristics of a nation? It would be too wearisome to enumerate the scores of definitions I have gathered from standard authorities. I shall therefore confine my discussion to points which, in my opinion, give the inhabitants of Scotland the right to consider themselves a nation. The Scots are a nation because they are conscious of being "members one of another" and of being different from the peoples of other lands. They are, and always have been, an inbreeding people. They have a particular affection for their native land. They are proud of their country, of themselves, of their name and fame, and of their national emblems. They speak dialects of the same tongue, all save a remnant of the Gaels. If their country or its people are in jeopardy, or have been made the butt of foreign insult, they rally to its defence; they would give their lives freely to preserve the integrity of the land and the liberty of its people. They are the heirs and executors of a firmly implanted national tradition. They are sharers in a common interest and in a common destiny; they hope and believe that their stock will never die out. They inhabit a sharply delimited territory and claim to own it. They

have national heroes, national songs, national dances, and national music. They have their own courts of justice, their own system of laws, their own churches, their own universities, and their own schoolmasters. They are emulative and keenly competitive; they are also co-operative. They have the power of assimilating strangers into their community and of making those assimilated sharers in all their hopes and fears, traditions, customs, and modes of speech. They formulate their own public opinion and are sensitive and subservient to that opinion. The genes or germinal units which circulate within the frontiers of their land differ in their potentialities from those which circulate in all other countries. The Scottish people form, in a physical sense, a homogeneous community, but only a small proportion of them have features which are peculiar to their nation. Such, then, is a list of the qualities which give the Scottish people a right to claim the status of a nation. Any people possessing these traits is a nation not only in a political sense but also in a biological or evolutionary sense. "The earlier nations," wrote Ramsay Muir,¹³ "achieved nationhood, not by theory, but by their own instincts and traditions." I am of opinion that nationhood can never be achieved by theory; nationgenic qualities lie in the unconscious region of human mentality.

It was my intention to trace the transformation of the clan or tribal spirit into the national spirit. The late persistence of a clan or tribal organization in the Highlands of Scotland provides material for such a study. It will be sufficient for my present purpose to point out that the map prepared by Dr. James Browne¹⁴ shows forty delimited small territories, each a statelet, each occupied and owned by a clan and ruled by a chief. Every one of the characters I have attributed to the Scottish nation was exhibited in miniature by each of these local self-governing communities. Each was a separate, independent evolutionary unit. With the forceful detribalization of the clans, the inborn predispositions and instinctive urges of the clansmen, which gave allegiance to their chief and nursed the preferential interests of the clan, became transferred to the wider circle of the nation. Group spirit, tribal spirit or tribalism, national spirit or nationalism are one and the same thing, with this limiting circumstance—the larger the group the more is the spirit spread out and attenuated.

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THE MAKING OF HUMAN RACES

Synopsis.—The confusion resulting from the use of the term "race" in two senses. The term was originally given to a lineage group. Later it was restricted to distinctive varieties of mankind. "Nation" is the term used to designate the lineal descendants of a local group. For an Australian aborigine his tribe is his race. The discovery of agriculture brought nations into existence. Nations, although not physically differentiated from one another, remain apart. "Nation" is defined. The sense in which a nation is a race. The translators of the Bible used the term "nation" as equivalent to race. Popular usage of the term "race." The restriction of the term "race" to a differentiated people began in 1839. Huxley's advocacy led to the change in usage being adopted. The taxonomic methods of zoology are unsuitable for mankind. The claims of the South Irish to be a separate race. The former usage of the term "race" should be restored. The twofold meaning of the term "race" exemplified. The degree to which nations may be regarded as of mixed origin. The homogeneity of the inhabitants of Great Britain. Bagehot was of opinion that nation-making had replaced race-making. The Egyptians are a race in both senses of that term. The degree to which the population of Scotland and of Sweden are physically differentiated. A nation is a variety in course of formation.

In the year 1919 Mr. John Oakesmith wrote a well-reasoned book¹ to show that race and nation had nothing to do with each other—race being one thing and nation quite another. In the same year I also published a book² which sought to prove that race and nation were near akin—that a nation was in reality an incipient race. When he wrote, Mr. Oakesmith knew nothing of my book; nor did I know of his. Now, when two men have the same facts before them and are in search of the truth and come to diametrically opposite conclusions, it will usually be found that, although they have used the same terms, they have attached a



quite different meaning to these terms. He used the term "race" in one sense; I in quite another, yet each of us could justify our usage by an appeal to authority. This twofold use of the word "race"—an "incendiary term" Professor Fleure³ has called it—has been, and still is, the source of infinite misunderstanding and quarrel. Before I can go into the process of race-making, I must first clear up this confusion in the use of the term "race."

To illustrate this twofold usage let us turn back for a moment to a large area of the primal world and note the manner in which its primitive inhabitants were broken up into isolated local groups, each representing an "evolutionary unit" or, as Bagehot⁴ named it, "a parish race." Each local group was an inbreeding, isolated, closed society, with its own assortment of genes, tracing its origin back to a common ancestry. Each group had been winnowed and selected in its competition with other groups and in its struggle with surrounding conditions. Now, any group, tribe, or nation which represents the progeny of a common ancestry is a race in the strict meaning of that term.⁵ We may, then, legitimately apply the term "race" to each local group; each group was a potential race-maker. This is one use of the term "race"; now for its other use. All these local groups, working collectively, produced a population with a certain assortment of physical characters which distinguished it from the populations of surrounding countries. Now, a people which can be distinguished by its physical features is also called a race, but this is a late use of the term.⁷ Thus the term "race" came to be applied in two senses: first, to a local or race-making group—being as it were the loom on which the genetic threads were woven—and secondly, to the product of evolution—the differentiated people, the woven web. In one sense the term refers to an evolutionary process; in the other to an evolutionary product. The difference between Mr. Oakesmith and myself was due to his using the term "race" to mean a people differentiated in a physical sense—the finished product—while I used it to designate a group or a people involved in the process of differentiation. A race, as I see it, is a thing which is consciously and vitally alive; race as viewed by Mr. Oakesmith and by physical anthropologists is inert, unconscious, and passive. My race is passionate; his is devoid of passion.

As we trace the evolution of mankind towards the present, the evolutionary unit grows in size; the local group is replaced by

the tribe, and then the tribe by the nation. The tribal stage was preserved in the continent of Australia up to the latter part of the eighteenth century. The native population was divided into more than a thousand separate territorial units or tribes. Each tribe was a self-reproducing, inbreeding lineage—a "race" in the original meaning of that term. Each tribe was a race-making unit, but the physical type or types produced by one tribe differed in only a slight degree from those of neighbouring tribes. Yet the collective action of all the tribes was to fill the continent with a population which was physically distinguishable from all other peoples of the world. The collective result of the evolutionary process has given the Australian natives a distinctive appearance and won for them the name of "Australoid race." Of the existence of such a race the native was ignorant; his living interests were centred on his local clan or tribe; for him his tribe was his "race."

In preceding essays I have traced the effects which the discovery of agriculture produced in the size of evolutionary units; tribes were replaced by nations. We best realize the effects of that momentous discovery if we compare the continent of Europe as it is to-day with the continent of Australia as it was at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The myriad of tribal territories of Australia are represented in Europe by twenty-six national territories. Some of these territories, such as Great Britain, the Soviet Republics, Yugo-Slavia, Czecho-Slovakia, Switzerland, and Belgium, are occupied by a confederation of nations, so that the total number of nations in Europe may be nearer forty than twenty-six. No nation claims to be physically differentiated from its neighbours, yet all remain apart and are very conscious of their frontiers. They are conscious, too, of being different from each other. All are inbreeding, self-reproducing units; each and all are animated by that complex of emotions, feelings, sentiments, and convictions known as "national spirit."

A nation, then, is a separated community reproducing its own local types, and in the original meaning of the term is a race. Collectively the nations of Europe produce variants of that distinctive division of mankind known as the Caucasian race. Here, again, we return to the confusion which results from using the term "race" as a name for the local national race-making

unit and the collective evolutionary result produced by these units—namely, the Caucasian race. Europeans are indifferent as to their Caucasianhood, but they are very much alive to their nationhood. For most Europeans, their nation is also their race.

If we use the term "race" to indicate a people that is sharply differentiated by its physical characters from all other peoples, then there are very few nations to which the term may be applied legitimately. But if we use it, as I think it should be used, to indicate a delimited, inbreeding, self-reproducing community, then we rightly, and with advantage, speak of a nation as a race. The English translators of the Bible, not having the term "race" at their disposal, used the term "nation" as a substitute. In the tenth chapter of Genesis the Hebrew scribe, after enumerating the eleven nations of Palestine who traced their lineage to Canaan, son of Ham, ends his account in a verse which was translated in the following words: "These are the sons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, and in their nations." In the strict dictionary meaning of the term these nations were "races."

In current English "race" is still used as a term for nation both by the educated and the uneducated. Mr. Winston Churchill, who is careful in his use of words, has spoken of the "Irish race" and of the "Scottish race"; the learned historian of Europe, the late Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, used the term German "race"; so did J. H. Green. The latter historian also wrote of the English and of the Welsh race. Lloyd George, at the zenith of his career, claimed a racial status for his own people—the people of Wales. Even the great Huxley, who was so strict about limiting the term "race" to fully differentiated peoples, relapsed occasionally to its original meaning. In 1871 he wrote of "the great faculty for physical and metaphysical inquiry, with which the people of *our race* are naturally endowed."⁷ "Our race" in this instance was the English race. Leslie Stephen, Francis Galton, and Karl Pearson speak of the English as a race. Such examples could be greatly multiplied, but enough has been cited to prove that the Englishman, when he uses the term "race," has in mind, not a people that is marked off by physical traits, but a people that is differentiated by its feelings, its modes of thought, its speech, its habits and customs, and by its tradition—in brief, by its culture.

I have been stating the case for those who maintain that "race"

should be used in its original meaning—namely, as the designation of a separated community which is concerned in reproducing itself, and so taking part, quite unconsciously, in the great evolutionary process of race-building. Let me now put up the case, as fairly as I can, of those—and they form the majority of anthropologists—who maintain that the term should be restricted to peoples who are so completely differentiated in a physical sense that they can be instantly distinguished from each other at sight. Linneus (1707-78) did not use the term "race"; he divided mankind into four "varieties" or sub-species, each occupying a continental area. His four sub-species were: *Americanus*, *Europaeus*, *Asiaticus*, and *Afer* (Blacks). Blumenbach (1752-1840) did not use the term "race"; he amended the classification of Linneus by substituting the name *Caucasian* for *European* and added a fifth variety or sub-species to include the *Australasian* peoples. Buffon did not use the term "race"; he added a sixth sub-species. Lawrence,⁸ as late as 1834, did not use the term "race"; he was a devout and discriminating follower of Blumenbach. The application of physical characters to the definition of races is traceable to the year 1839. My authority for this statement is the eminent French anthropologist, Paul Topinard;⁹ up to that date the term "race" had been given to any separate people; it was then resolved that no people could be deemed a "race" unless it was distinguishable by its physical markings. Prichard (1786-1848), in his learned and still useful five-volumed treatise,¹⁰ notes this change in the definition of race,¹¹ and, like Topinard, was greatly disturbed by it. It was due to Huxley, more than to any other man, that physical differentiation was made the mark of race.¹² So clear and vigorous was his argument and so great was his influence that from 1865 onwards the physical definition of race was accepted throughout the anthropological world.

Huxley's main contention seemed to be undeniable; man, being a member of the animal kingdom, must be classified by the same rules as are applied to animals. Huxley and those who followed him forgot that man is a unique animal. In defining man Linneus gave as man's chief character—*nosce ipsum*—the self-conscious animal. Man differs from all other animals in his use of names; he has a name for his individual self and names for all those with whom he mixes. He is a conscious animal—con-

scious first of the family in which he is born, then conscious of the local group of which he is a member, and finally conscious of his nation and of the name given to it. All other animals except man are passive in the hands of the classifier; but man is a self-namer and a self-classifier. For him the accepted name of his race is that of his local group, of his tribe, or of his nation. For over a century anthropologists have been seeking to impose their concept of race on political opinion, but with no result; the old opinion prevails—namely, that a folk or a nation, no matter what its physical characters may be, if animated by a sense of difference, is a race. It so happened in the late sixties of the nineteenth century, when Huxley was devoting his attention to anthropological problems, that the people of Ireland were demanding separation from England on the ground of a difference in race; they were a Celtic people, whereas the English were Saxons. Huxley, having noted that both peoples were mixtures of the same physical types, came to the conclusion that the Irish claim was without foundation. "If what I have to say in a matter of science," he declared, "weighs with any man who has political power, I ask him to believe that the arguments about the difference between Anglo-Saxons and Celts are a mere sham and delusion."¹³ It never occurred to Huxley that he was using the term "race" in one sense, the Irish in quite another.

Such was the case. The Irish based their claims for separation, not on any physical difference, but on a difference of tradition and outlook. They were animated by what one may call the "race-making" instinct, which ultimately led (1922) the greater part of the people of Ireland to secede from the fraternity of British nations and to set out alone to work out an evolutionary destiny.

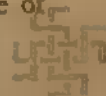
From what I have written my readers may have received the impression that I undervalue the labours of the physical anthropologist. That is very far from being the case; I prize the vast treasures of anthropological fact they have gleaned from the peoples of all the world. But I do think it a matter of urgency that they should give up the use of the term "race" to designate a people that is marked off from all others by colour, hair, features of face, and head-form, and revert to the term used by the founders of physical anthropology—namely, sub-species or variety.

When I took up the study of anthropology in the nineties of last century, I was an ardent follower of Huxley and was

convinced that the right meaning to attach to race was the one he attached. My doubts were awakened about 1914 when I began my inquiries into the origin of the chief varieties—or, to use Huxley's words, "the easily distinguishable persistent modifications"—of mankind. No matter which of these great divisions I chose to study, when I went to their homeland I found them broken up into competing units. These units may be only a local group, or a tribe of varying size, or a nation, but all of them are separate breeding units, actively engaged in the production of that particular variety of mankind of which they form part. To these elements of evolving humanity Shirokogoroff¹⁴ gave the name of "ethnic unit"; my name for them is "evolutionary unit"; the name given to such a unit, according to English usage, is "race." It was then that I realized that a race was a real live thing and that we should never come by an understanding of the problems of human evolution until we had restored the term "race" to its original meaning. It is the rivalry, competition, and conflict between these evolutionary units or races which keep the world in a continual state of turmoil.

In my youth we had in Aberdeenshire a celebrated breed or variety of shorthorn cattle; it was distinguishable at sight, and might, therefore, be called a "race" in the Huxleyan sense of that term. Where, then, were the representatives of "race" in my sense of the term? They were the score of pedigreed herds, each sheltered, tended, and segregated in farms scattered over a wide area of country. Although all the herds were of one breed, yet they differed in being composed of varying strains or lines. Each owner or farmer sought to improve his herd by emphasizing this point or that; or he might introduce fresh blood to secure this end; he aimed at making his herd superior to those of his fellow-breeders. In this sense we may say there was rivalry and competition between the herds. The collective result of all these efforts at race-making in the various farms was the production of a distinctive variety of ox—the Aberdeenshire shorthorn. Now, the essential and vital element in bringing about this result was the herd; it is the evolutionary unit and corresponds to "race" in the breeding machinery of mankind.

For many a year, and never more than at the present time, geneticists and historians have proclaimed aloud that "pure" races no longer exist in the world and that all peoples are of



mongrel origin. Let us look into this problem. Karl Pearson was in the right when he claimed that "the purest race is the one which has been longest isolated, inbred, and selected for the longest period." The local groups—the lineages—into which mankind was divided in the springtime of the world may be regarded as "pure" races, but even in their case lines were broken when a local group flourished, divided into new groups, which as they spread abroad absorbed members of neighbouring groups. The strangers so absorbed were of the same local breed as the host group; the genes which the host group added to its circulation were of a similar coinage to its own. From the very beginning the local group or race had this power of incorporating and assimilating fresh genes. As evolutionary units increased in size, passing from a tribal to a national stage, this power of assimilation was practised in ever-widening circles, but the fresh genes incorporated were always those of the same wide area and of nearly the same genetic origin. It is true that there exist in the world true mongrel or hybrid peoples—that is to say, peoples compounded out of two diverse *varieties* of mankind. The progeny of such unions differs physically from both paternal and maternal stocks and is recognizably different. But the degree of mongrelization met with in Europe is of a more limited kind. Celt cannot be distinguished from Saxon by physical marks; when they interbreed the mongrel progeny cannot be distinguished from that which claims to be pure Celt or pure Saxon. In dealing with the origin of the Scottish nation, I touched on all the "racial" elements which went to its composition. With the exception of the beaker people all were of the same physical type; all were of the West European breed. In my own estimation the inhabitants of the British Isles are, in their physical appearance, the most homogeneous and least mongrel-like of all the peoples or nationalities of Europe. In this opinion I have the support of an expert and impartial witness—Professor Hooton of Harvard. He has expressed his opinion thus: "Within the British Isles, for example, several different white races and sub-races have inbred since the Norman conquest without any vast increment of foreign blood. The result is a comparative physical homogeneity that almost justifies the statement that a British 'race' or sub-race is in process of formation." 15

I have been discussing the twofold use of the term "race," first

as meaning a "variety" of mankind, and, secondly, as the designation of a "race-making" community, or, in the original meaning of the word, a race, in order that I might answer the question: "Is a nation a race in the latter meaning of the word?" I answer most definitely that it is. A nation is the lineal successor of the original evolutionary unit—the local group. But is a nation a race-making or *raciogenic* unit? Here I again cite Professor Hooton as a witness. According to him, isolation and inbreeding "constitute the most potent race-making complex."¹⁶ Both of these factors are operative in a nation.

Walter Bagehot¹⁷ was greatly puzzled about the relation of "nation-making" to "race-making"; he used race as a name for a distinctive variety of mankind. Everywhere he found nation-making at work, but nowhere could he find evidence of a people assuming a new and distinctive appearance. That was because he had not looked at a nation long enough to mark the physical changes which do ultimately come into existence. So far I have dealt with the origin of only two nations, those of Egypt and of Scotland. Egypt is the oldest of nations; Scotland one of the more recent. Are the Egyptians more sharply differentiated from neighbouring peoples than the Scottish are from neighbouring nations? Undoubtedly they are. While spending the winter 1930-1 in Egypt I devoted myself to the study of the external markings of the natives, for I was then, and still am, of opinion that as an instrument for "racial" discrimination the expert eye is a far more trustworthy guide than any form of measuring callipers. I also took every opportunity of examining all neighbouring peoples—Arabs, Syrians, Libyans, Turks, and Greeks. Before leaving Egypt a particularly favourable opportunity gave me a chance of putting my experience to a test. Just before the arrival of the Queen of the Belgians in Cairo, regiments in a uniform not unlike that of British soldiers and drawn mostly from Lower Egypt were stationed along the lines of approach. I passed along the lines of standing men, noting mentally those who were not distinctively Egyptians in appearance, but might be confused with other Mediterranean peoples. I found that ninety per cent of the soldiers were distinctively of Egyptian appearance. The Egyptian nation, then, could claim to be a race in both senses of that term; race-making had nearly succeeded in transforming it into a distinctive *variety* of mankind.



I am familiar with the Scottish physiognomy and have had many opportunities of testing my ability to recognize it in mixed regiments and in mixed assemblies. My experience has taught me that not more than five per cent of the Scots can be discriminated by their features of face and traits of body. The Scottish nation is only a little above zero in the process of physical differentiation. Those who know Sweden hold that fully fifteen per cent of the population is recognizably different from any to be found in other populations of Europe. The people of Sweden are thus on the way to becoming a distinctive variety of mankind; they can claim to be a race in both senses of that term.

"Varieties," wrote Darwin,¹⁸ "are species in the course of formation." The same may be said of nations in a lower degree; they are varieties in the process of formation.

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THE PEOPLES AND RACES OF EUROPE

Synopsis.—Latham's classification of the peoples of Europe. The taxinomic value of speech. Ripley's Races of Europe. The merits and demerits of Ripley's system. Latham saw uniformity in the population of Europe; Ripley, diversity. Diversity is of two kinds. The face as an index of race. Dr. Coon's classification of Europeans. The author's conception of the racial composition of the population of Europe. The nations of Europe represent its races. The first or Palæolithic colonization of Europe by Caucasians. The population of Europe in late Palæolithic times; its organization. The second or Neolithic settlement of Europe by Caucasians. The number of separate communities in Neolithic Europe. The Palæolithic settlers may have been absorbed by the Neolithic peoples. The size of communities in the last century of the pre-Christian era in Gaul and other lands of Western Europe. The rise of national units. Nations have all the attributes of "evolutionary units" and are the lineal representatives of such units. Nations are races in the original meaning of that term. The merits and demerits of large evolutionary units. The relationship of evolutionary units to fully differentiated varieties or races of mankind.

NEARLY a century ago an observant and erudite Englishman, Robert Gordon Latham (1812-88), published a short treatise¹ on the peoples of Europe and said this of them: "In no part of the world do the differences between the varieties of the human species lie within narrower limits than in Europe." In his survey he passes from people to people, classifying them into "stocks" according to their speech. His "Slavonic stock," for example, included the Great Russians, Little Russians (Ukrainians), White Russians, Bulgarians, Serbians, Bosnians, Croats, Carinthians, Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks. He noted that the Slavs occupied more than half the continent of Europe, and in his census² gives their collective number as 78.6 millions. If Latham had been

alive now (1946), he would have found that his Slav stock had expanded and consolidated its territories and increased its numbers from 78.6 millions to over 200 millions, thus forming almost forty per cent of the total population of Europe. Another of Latham's main divisions of Europeans was the "Great Gothic or Germanic Stock," which included the various peoples of Germany, the Scandinavians, the Danes, the Dutch, Frisians, and Anglo-Saxons. "As a general rule," he wrote, "the Germanic or Gothic stock has not only held its own area but has encroached on that of others . . . the converse rarely, if ever, can be shown to have taken place." I cite this passage because it reveals Latham's interest in the rise and fall of peoples—a matter of the highest importance to students of human evolution. His two other main stocks were the "Keltic" and the Greco-Latin of Italy. Thus Latham's classification of the peoples of Europe was based on language—a system which is now rejected by all modern anthropologists. This will seem strange to all who are familiar with the fact that the chief bond of every living community is its speech; a people who live together, marry together, and speak the same tongue become a single people, however diverse their ancestry may be. It is by their tongue that we trace the diverse Slavonic peoples back to a common origin; new peoples and tongues evolve hand in hand. Those who refuse to consider language as a factor in the classification of peoples point to the absurd position which would arise if an African tribe were to adopt a European speech; it might then be mistaken for a tribe of Europeans! The danger of such a mistake, I am sure, is more imaginary than real.

In 1900 the American anthropologist W. Z. Ripley published a work³ which introduced a new era in the discrimination of race in Europe. He held that human beings must be classified by the methods applied to all living animals. Europeans, therefore, must be grouped according to their physical characteristics, such as head-form, colouring, stature, etc. He spoke of "the fusing heat of nationality," but held it had nothing to do with "race." He therefore rejected from his scheme of classification nationality, language, culture, and custom. For him there are but three races in Europe; there is a blond, long-headed race in the lands round the Baltic, which he named the Teutonic; another, long-headed and dark-haired, occupies the lands round the Mediterranean,

forming the "Mediterranean" race; separating these northern and southern races is a third to which he gave the name "Alpine," this race being mainly centred on the Alps. The Alpines are distinguished by the roundness of their heads—their brachycephaly; in colouring they are, in the main, intermediate to the two other races.

Ripley's scheme has the great merit of simplicity; it is also in accordance with fact, for there can be no question that there is a great blond area of population in the north-west of Europe, and an even more extensive area of deeply pigmented peoples in the south, with an intermediate zone separating these two extremes. There is, however, one fatal objection to his system—it does not work. A perfect classification is one which provides a niche for everybody; this is what Ripley's scheme fails to do. For example, Ammon⁴ measured 1,000 Alpine individuals, but failed to find a "pure" specimen; Matiegka⁵ examined 102 gymnasts drawn from various quarters of Europe and could assign only eighteen of them to Ripley's categories; in the blondest part of Sweden Retzius⁶ found only eighteen per cent of individuals who gave a full display of Nordic or Teutonic characters. Of the many thousands of Europeans measured by Professor Hooton⁷ in the United States of America, only one man in ten was assignable to one or other of Ripley's three races. This difficulty in assignation has been attributed to a mixing of the three primary races in recent times. But the idea that in a past age Ripley's three races existed in a separate and pure state is unsupported by evidence. Indeed, as I construe the evidence, Ripley's three areas of differentiation are only now coming into existence and are more distinct to-day than they have been in any previous age.

It is of interest to contrast the general impression which Ripley carried away from his study of the peoples of Europe with that of Latham. Latham, as we have seen, was struck by their physical homogeneity; Ripley, on the other hand, was impressed by their diversity. Here is his statement: "No continental group of human beings, with greater diversities or extremes of physical type exists." How did two men come to such opposite conclusions regarding the racial characters of Europeans? My own experience throws some light on the matter. When I first lived among Chinese I was struck by their similarity; as I studied them I became aware of their individual diversity. Latham was

impressed by the racial similarity of Europeans; if met with in Africa, in Eastern Asia, or in Australasia, the European is recognized as different at sight; the only peoples with which he may be confused are his Caucasian cousins of Western Asia. Ripley, on the contrary, was struck by the individual differences. He seemed to forget that every birth produces a unique individual—one which has no exact counterpart among the 2,000 millions that make up the world's population; one which is different from the millions who have gone before or who will come after. The face is our chief means of identification: the human face lends itself to this purpose because of its variability. Yet, with all its variability the face retains what may be called its "racial mask." In identifying the races of Europe Ripley attached the highest importance to the form of head but rejected the evidence of the face. I, on the other hand, regard the characters of the face as the safest guide in the discrimination of one race or variety of mankind from another.

Both before Ripley and after him many racial classifications have been proposed for Europe, but it is not necessary for me to discuss them as they have been summarized in a standard treatise recently published by Dr. Coon.⁸ From a close study of this treatise one is made to realize what a complex business the discrimination of race in Europe has become in the hands of modern anthropologists. In the racial map of Europe compiled by Dr. Coon, Ripley's simple conception of three main races is replaced by one which involves the recognition of twelve chief racial types and of six subsidiary ones besides three others, making twenty-one forms in all. Some of these are local; some are spread over wide areas where they are mixed with other types. Practically all these types are regarded as of hybrid origin, resulting from the union of two or more races which had previously existed in a separate state. A European race, according to Dr. Coon, is "a composite amalgamation of peoples thrown together by the accident of geography and blended into some semblance of homogeneity."⁹ Our author has one great merit; although, like Ripley, he does not permit nationality or language to enter into his scheme of classification, he recognizes to the full that in deciding the racial composition of any given nation or people the history of that people and the archaeological evidence of their land must be given a position of the highest importance. Here we

have a welcome return to the method of Prichard and of Latham.

Having given a brief account of what may be described as the orthodox conception of the racial divisions of the peoples of Europe, I now propose to give a concise exposition of my own conception—heterodox, I admit in the meantime, but which I am persuaded will yet be accepted as orthodox. In the preceding essay I have drawn attention to the confusion which has arisen from the application of the term "race," first, to a race-making group, and second, to a people distinguishable from all other peoples because of their physical characters. The authors whom I have just cited use the term in the second sense—that of a differentiated people—whereas, in the remaining part of this essay I shall speak of differentiated groups as "varieties" and use the term "race" for the smaller groups in which differentiation is being effected. Using the term "race" in the sense just defined, my object will be to prove that the only live races in Europe now are its nationalities and that these are the lineal successors of the evolutionary units of ancient times—of the local group and of the tribe.

The colonization of Europe by groups representing the Caucasian variety of mankind began in a phase of the last Ice Age, between 60,000 and 70,000 years ago. As outlined in a previous essay (XXVI), the Caucasians were probably evolved in Western Asia and entered Europe as separate bands over a long period of time. These intruding bands found Europe sparsely occupied by a distinctive variety of mankind, the Neanderthals, a type which perished soon after the arrival of the colonists. The physical differences between the native Neanderthals and the intruding Caucasians were greater than those which separate the European colonists of to-day in Australia from the aborigines of that continent. They were differences instantly recognizable at sight. Hybridization between the natives and colonists of ancient Europe may have occurred, but so far not a fossil trace of it has been found; the fossil skulls found in the Palæolithic deposits of Europe prove to be unmistakably Neanderthal or decidedly Caucasian. Long before the end of the Pleistocene period the Caucasian vanguard had reached Western Europe. Their fossil remains have been found in the caves of England, of Belgium, of France, of Spain, and of Central and South Germany.



They also lived in the open country, as did the horse-hunters of Solutré in France and the mammoth-hunters in Moravia. All were dependent on the natural produce of the lands they entered and occupied; they knew nothing of agriculture. Seeing that the Caucasians of Palæolithic times occupied the greater part of Europe for many thousands of years, it is surprising that we have found the fossil remains of so few of them; not more than one hundred have come to light. All are cast in the Caucasian mould, but there were distinctive local varieties, or—in my sense of the term—races. The physical type which prevailed among the hunters of Moravia differed from that which characterized the Cro-Magnon people of France.¹⁰ It is worthy of note that the Caucasian pioneers were a big-brained folk.

In Essay III I have stated the grounds on which we assume that primal mankind everywhere and at all times was divided into small, isolated, inbreeding groups, each local group or "evolutionary unit" living on a demarcated territory which it claimed as its own. We assume, then, that the Caucasian pioneers of Europe were so divided and that each group as it advanced westwards and northwards into new lands marked out its territory. A group which prospered and increased in numbers would in due time throw off a new group to continue the westward drive. The westward movement must have been attended by competition between groups, certain of them being favoured and selected; the groups which ultimately reached the limits of occupation in the west and in the north would have been subjected to the greatest degree of selection. I shall assume that saturation point in density of population had been reached towards the end of the Palæolithic period. What would the total population of Europe have been at this point? Seeing that so much of Europe was closely forested and that there were wide areas of barren heathland, we dare not hazard a higher estimate than that of one person to each ten square miles of territory. For the purpose of our calculation we may take the total area of Europe as four million square miles, which, allowing ten square miles for each man, woman, or child, gives a total population of only 400,000. If we make the further assumption that each local group, taking one with another, had fifty members, then the total number of "evolutionary units" in Europe would have been of the order of 8000, each occupying a territory which, on an average, would amount to

500 square miles. However problematical these estimates may be, they do compel us to realize the conditions under which evolution was carried on in Europe of Palæolithic times.

The colonization of Europe just dealt with was the first or Palæolithic settlement of Europe by people of the Caucasian stock. The movement we have now to consider is the second or Neolithic settlement of Europe by Caucasians, infinitely more important than the first, for it gave Europe the basis of its present population. We have seen (p. 283) that early in the fourth millennium the Caucasian natives of the Iranian plateau were practising agriculture, building villages, and rapidly multiplying in numbers. It was this Iranian advance in the mode of living which sent the second or Neolithic colonists moving westwards in search of new lands to till. The newemigrant bands were grouped in tribal village-building communities. By the beginning of the third millennium they were on the fertile lands of south Russia, in the lower valley of the Danube, in the Balkans, and in Crete. Their new settlements were effected on the hunting territories of their Palæolithic predecessors. No doubt they had to fight their way westwards. Following diverse routes the Neolithic colonists succeeded in the course of five centuries in carrying their mode of life to the western and northern shores of the continent. The picture of life among the early Slav peoples, drawn by Gibbon,¹¹ may be applied to the Neolithic colonists of Europe, as well as to their successors of later periods. "Four thousand six hundred villages," wrote Gibbon, "were scattered over the provinces of Russia and Poland. . . . Their huts were hastily built of rough timber in the depths of forest or on river bank. Each tribe or village existed as a separate republic." Thus there were, on the authority of a record quoted by Gibbon, 4,600 "evolutionary units" in the eastern half of Europe, and there was probably an equal number in the western half of the continent. Europe was then a moving mosaic of "parish races." By the middle of the first millennium B.C. the population of Europe had so increased that the movements of peoples which, in the preceding millennia had been towards the north and west, now turned in a southerly and easterly direction.

How far the Neolithic colonists absorbed their Palæolithic predecessors is a moot point. Hunting and pastoral peoples are difficult to convert to an agricultural way of life. Native peoples



perished before the advancing colonists of Australia and of the United States. In these cases colonists and natives were members of contrasted varieties of mankind, but in Europe they were of the same great stock; if there were intermarriages, the progeny would be indistinguishable from either parent stock.

When the light of history breaks upon Europe in the last century of the pre-Christian era, enormous changes are found to have taken place in the number and size of its evolutionary units. Let us consider first the state of matters in France—in ancient Gaul. In this area of Europe some 400 tribes or sub-tribes had become grouped so as to form about sixty independent States¹²—each representing an evolutionary unit. The size of such units varied from fifty thousand to two hundred thousand individuals. The same process of fusion of local groups into tribes and tribes into “independent States” or nations was taking place all over Western and Central Europe. Gibbon gives the number of independent peoples in Britain as thirty: in Ireland tribal fusion had given that island about sixteen separate peoples; the numerous tribes of ancient Germany had become united so as to form about forty units, many of them large and composite. When the Romans entered on the conquest of Spain (133 B.C.), they found the population of that country divided into thirty-five independent tribes. Even as late as the twelfth century A.D. sixty-four “sovereignities” were recognized in ancient Russia. By the dawn of the Christian era the population of Europe, estimated to have been less than half a million in Palæolithic times and divided into many thousands of small units, had increased in numbers to some sixty millions, but the number of independent territorial units had become reduced from thousands to a few hundreds.

We come now to the consideration of the latest type of evolutionary unit—that known in modern times as a nation. With the collapse of Roman rule in the west and the vain attempts of Charlemagne and of the Austrian crown to establish a permanent form of imperial rule, the old process of fusion of local populations to form larger units reasserted itself. In France, for example, a congeries of dukedoms, pryncedoms, and kingdoms came into existence. These became united under one crown; and with the addition of Burgundy the territorial limits of France were completed. It is one thing to establish a frontier; it is quite a different and more protracted thing to break down the old local allegiances

and to bring about their fusion so that all the people within a territory become imbued with a common national spirit. The democratic spirit which swept through France in the closing decade of the eighteenth century speeded up the process of nationalization in that country. The union of Spain may be dated to 1474, when Ferdinand of Aragon married Isabella of Castile, but even to-day the Catalonians and the Asturians (Basques) are still dominated by a separatist spirit. England was put on the way to unity in the eleventh century by William of Normandy; she was the first modern country in Europe to attain nationhood. Holland arose early in the seventeenth century by the union of seven provinces. Early in the nineteenth century Germany was still divided into thirty-eight independent States; in 1933 Hitler, by means of force and flattery, brought all under a single government. When Italy was given unity in the nineteenth century, her statesman Cavour said "We have made Italy . . . now make Italians."

It is a noteworthy fact that the peoples who led the way in nation-building were those of Western Europe; the peoples of Eastern Europe lagged behind. Indeed, in two countries, in Albania and in Montenegro, a tribal organization still continues. The Balkan Peninsula was settled by Slav peoples by a species of tribal permeation which led, in a country like Macedonia, to an intermingling of Serb, Bulgar, and Greek communities, the particularist spirit of each frustrating all attempts at a national union.

To-day the whole of Europe is sharply demarcated into twenty-six national territories, some of them small, others very large. Each territory is inhabited by a population which claims to be separate and different from all neighbouring populations; all claim to be independent sovereign States and responsible for their own evolutionary destiny. All are prepared to sacrifice life to secure their sovereignty. Some of these twenty-six national territories are occupied, not by a single nation, as are those of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Holland, but by a confederation of nations. Such is the case in the British Isles where there are five nations; in Belgium there are two, in Switzerland four, in Czecho-Slovakia two, in European Russia three, in Jugo-Slavia six. Thus the population of Europe, now estimated at 530 millions, is divided into some fifty nationalities.

Do these nationalities represent race-making units? Are they races in the original sense of that term? Before giving my reasons for answering both the questions in the affirmative, let me recall the manner in which human evolution has been carried on in the past and is being carried on in the present. All advances have been made by the process of race-building. In primal times the race-building or evolutionary unit was represented by a small local group; each group was in active or passive competition with neighbouring groups. As time went on the competing groups grew ever larger; with the introduction of agriculture they became large communities; with the coming of industries they became national in size. Thus the nation of to-day is the lineal representative of the local group of Palæolithic times; nations are now the race-making units of Europe. They are not only the lineal descendants of ancient evolutionary units; they have retained all the mental dispositions of these units. They live in separate territories to which they have a particular affection. They are animated by the same group or national consciousness; they have an aversion to neighbouring national units; threats to their welfare or to their security evoke a passionate reaction; they are inbreeding communities. For all those reasons I hold that the nations of Europe are race-making units or races in the original sense of that term. Evolution in Europe is being carried on by co-operation within national groups, and by competition between them; thus Europe is in a continuous state of turmoil.

Is the division of a population into large nations an effective way of bringing about profitable evolutionary changes? Large units have certain evolutionary advantages and also several grave disadvantages. The ancient small inbreeding units gave quick and effective results. If the group was blessed with an ample number of good genes, these were frequently mated, and a strongly differentiated community was speedily produced. If, on the other hand, it was cursed by evil or recessive genes, these, too, were soon mated, and the strength of the group undone. In large freely intermarrying communities local communities, with their good or their bad genes, tend to be broken up and to become scattered in the general population, so that there is less chance of the good genes meeting with the good or of the bad with the bad.¹³ The rate of evolution in large units is thus slowed down and made less determinate in its results. Nevertheless, in spite of free inter-

marriage in large nations, local race production still goes on. In all the countries of Europe which have been fully investigated highly differentiated local groups or populations have been found. Professor Fleure found them in his survey of Wales,¹⁴ Bryn in his elaborate anthropological census of Norway;¹⁵ they have been observed in Germany and in Sweden; even in the great new American nation of the United States.¹⁶

One important matter still remains for consideration. What is the relationship of race-making units to the partially differentiated varieties of Europeans? If we except those of Mongolian affinities there is no European people in which every individual is so characterized as to be recognizable at sight. Let us take first the southern Europeans which make up the Mediterranean variety or race of Ripley. In Neolithic times the population of South Europe was broken up into scores of local units or tribes, each of which included men and women who had the Mediterranean characters developed to a greater or lesser degree. These tribes were the race-making units; their collective result was the production of a regional variety or type—the Mediterranean type. That type is now being fostered and its potentialities exploited by the nationalities of Spain, of Southern France, of Italy, of Greece, and in the Balkans. In a similar manner Ripley's Alpine and Nordic varieties or races were brought into being by the collective working of numerous small, local groups and tribes. With the rise of nations these local groups were absorbed into national units and, as members of these units, continue their race-making tendencies. Nations are the racio-genic units of Europe.

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NATIONALISM AS A FACTOR IN HUMAN EVOLUTION

Synopsis.—The subjects to be dealt with are outlined. Nationalism is an emotional manifestation. A nation is more than a mere political or cultural unit. Nationalism exemplified by the case of Wales. The Welsh Nationalist Party. Welsh nationalism is more than political. The Welsh nation was brought into existence by a long chain of events. Nationalism is not dependent on sovereignty. Politics as the handmaid of evolution. Nationalism is a manifestation of the ancient group-spirit. The Welsh nation is more than a cultural unit. Evidence of race-building in Wales. Assimilation as a factor in the building of nations and races. Nationalism has a greater persuasive force than economics. Underlying nationalism is the fear of absorption. Nationalists are unconscious of the ultimate effects of their policies. Adam Smith's account of the origin and purpose of nation-formation. Race-formation is the essential factor in human evolution. Creation and evolution homologated. Nationalism may remain dormant. The cosmopolitan mind. The power of nationalism. Its area of activities must be circumscribed. The exaggerated forms of nationalism and the hatred which attends them. National sovereignty.

THE contention put forward in the two preceding essays—namely, that a nation is a race in the original meaning of that term—has met with a hostile reception from the vast majority of my anthropological colleagues. Some of them object on the ground that a nation is a man-made community or political unit,¹ whereas a race is a natural creation. Others hold that a nation is merely a large social group or community which has been separated from other groups or nations by a difference of language, a difference of tradition, of custom and of education, and has therefore no biological or evolutionary significance.² These objections I shall consider now. I shall also raise and discuss certain pregnant matters which were merely glanced at in the preceding essays.

If nations are simply "political units" or "cultural units," why is national life attended by manifestations of that great galaxy of emotions, feelings, and modes of behaviour which make up collectively the potent force known as nationalism? Why are all the crises in national life attended by displays of fervour and of passion? "Nationalism," said the historian A. J. Toynbee,³ "is concerned with the life and death affairs of nations." All the processes concerned in human evolution are attended by highly charged emotions and often bellicose behaviour. A political or cultural interpretation of a nation leaves nationalism unexplained, but if my contention is accepted and a nation is regarded as an "evolutionary unit" or race, then national mentality and national behaviour fall into place in my scheme of evolution.

It so happened that on the day this essay was begun (October 28th, 1946) there was a lively exhibition of nationalism in the House of Commons. The Welsh members of Parliament were given a special opportunity to discuss the affairs of Wales. Instead, therefore, of considering in the abstract the matters specified in the preceding paragraph, let us examine them in the concrete, illustrating them by examples provided by the national consciousness of the people of Wales. In the change-over from a war-time to a peace-time economy, unemployment had become rife in Wales. The Welsh party criticized the generous plans for the restoration of prosperity put forward by the spokesman of the Government. He was told that "Wales was united in favour of a direct executive control of her own affairs." "English legislation," he was informed, "was unsuitable for peculiar Welsh conditions." "They were a people with a living language of their own, with a long history and with their own way of life." "The Welsh Nationalist Party," said the representative of the University of Wales, "is growing from day to day and is drawing in the cream of the Welsh intellectuals." Lady Megan Lloyd George complained that "economic necessity was driving young men and women from Wales and seriously weakening the stamina of the nation."

The debate left the House of Commons in no doubt as to the strength of a national spirit in Wales. The people of Wales are keenly conscious of their separateness and of their difference from other peoples; they are eager to maintain their integrity, and brood over their future as well as over their past.

The following incident will serve to illustrate the nature, and also the strength of the spirit of nationalism in Wales. In 1937 three educated Welshmen, one a clergyman, fired and destroyed an aerodrome which the British Government had established in Carnarvonshire, their plea of justification being that it "endangered the culture and tradition of one of the chief districts of Wales"; its presence was "an immoral violation of the rights of the Welsh nation." When a preliminary inquiry was held in Wales, the crowd outside the court sang "Land of my Fathers." The prisoners were guilty of the crime of arson, but so blinding is the passion of nationalism that no Welsh jury could be trusted to bring in a verdict of guilty against men who had committed crime in a cause with which they themselves were in sympathy. The prisoners were moved to London, tried by an English judge, convicted, and sentenced. The case I have cited is not an isolated instance of the partiality of Welsh juries; Judge MacKinnon,⁵ who had a life-long experience of the assize courts of England and Wales, said that: "Only in Wales have I come upon juries who returned perverse judgments." I do not suggest for a moment that the people of Wales deliberately cultivate "crooked justice," but simply that they are the victims or subjects of old-time instinctive urges which, arising below the threshold of consciousness, bias their judgments and actions in favour of their own people and of their own country. A people in the throes of nationalism unconsciously adopts two standards of right and wrong, one for their fellow-nationals and another for all who are outside the field of their activities.

Such, then, are some of the aspects of the national spirit which animates the people of Wales. Can we say that the Welsh nation is merely a political unit—a community held together by force of government? The answer is plainly—No. There has been no deliberate planning in its formation; the nation has come into existence as a result of a long chain of accidents. Cave man found his way to Wales in Palæolithic times; Caucasians from the south-west of Europe effected numerous settlements on its coasts in Neolithic and Bronze-Age days; the Brythonic Celts of England imposed their tongue and customs on its inhabitants in the fourth century B.C. The frontier that marks Wales off from England came into being where Welsh resisters were able to keep Saxon invaders at bay. Edward I (1272–1307) carried the Eng-



lish sword, the English tongue, and English barons into Wales. It was King Edward who unified the numerous,⁶ discordant, and inter-warring tribes of Wales into a nation; he gave them a common enemy and a common hatred, and thus a bond of union. At the time of the invasion several large tribal confederacies had already come into existence, that in the north being under the leadership of Llewelyn "openly at the head of their race."⁷ John Richard Green records the death of Llewelyn in these words: "With him died the independence of his race."⁸ Certainly independence, sovereignty, and freedom to plan are the dearest of all national desires, but Wales is a proof that a national spirit may survive and flourish without being technically a sovereign power. There are no fortifications mantling the frontier which separates Wales from England; nevertheless it is a real frontier along which the pulsating fervid spirit of the Welsh meets the unostentatious but resolute nationalism of the English.

The national spirit of Wales is based on something deeper than mere politics, and yet the Welsh nation has been fashioned by politics, and, as we have seen, its representatives in parliament still use political means to secure its national welfare and advancement. Most of my colleagues rigorously exclude politics from the purview of anthropology, but in an earlier essay (XI, p. 95) I warned my readers that I was "to maintain that politics, the art of controlling and regulating the conduct of a community, is part of the machinery of evolution." The case of Wales provides an occasion of unfolding what I had in mind. "The true political spirit," said Gladstone, "is the art of nation-making."⁹ To this I may add a statement by a master anthropologist—Paul Topinard—"only peoples are realities."¹⁰ There is a basis of truth in Herbert Spencer's opinion that "politics are never planned; they are forced by circumstances."¹¹ Thomas Hobbes was well aware of the uncertainties which attend the application of politics to the life of a nation as illustrated by the following passage:—

"And because in Deliberation, the Appetites and Aversions are raised by foresight of the good and evil consequences and sequels of the action whereof we deliberate; the good or evil effect thereof dependeth on the foresight of a long chain of consequences, of which seldom any man is able to see the end."

The reader will note the special role which Hobbes attributes—not to man's reason—but to his "appetites and aversions" in the devising of national policies. Another statement by Hobbes¹² carries us along the path we are following. "He that is to govern a whole nation," he wrote, "must read not this or that particular man, but mankind." Politics, then, must be based on a knowledge of human nature. Burke defined politics as the "management of human nature"; he held, too, "that politics ought to be adjusted, not to human reason only, but to human nature."¹³ Now, human nature is particularly sensitive to one thing—the safety or security of its group, tribe, or nation. Nationalism is an active manifestation of human nature; it is instantly roused if its group, tribe, or nation is in danger. The spirit which underlies nationalism, then, is not something new that came with the formation of large evolutionary units, but dates back to that primal period when man became conscious, not only of his individual self, but also of the community of which he formed part. "Politics," Wallas affirmed, "are an exploitation of the subconscious";¹⁴ it would have been nearer to reality, I think, if he had written: "The subconscious—that is human nature—exploits politics for the welfare and progress of its own group or race." In brief, politics serve now, and always have served, as the handmaid of the evolutionary process.

The preceding paragraph, which I have devoted to the part played by politics in nation-building and, incidentally, to race-building, has carried me away from the straight line of my argument. I have been seeking to prove that a nation, as exemplified by the people of Wales, is much more than a political unit. I have now to look into the opinion held by many of my colleagues—namely, that a nation has nothing to do with race-building, but is simply a population cut off from neighbouring populations by having a different and separate cultural heritage. According to this opinion a nation is simply a "culture group." Will this cultural theory explain the strength and persistence of Welsh nationalism? Let us look into the matter. Take the case of a child born in Wales; it is heir to a certain way of life, to a mode of speech; as it grows up it imitates its elders, copies their habits and customs, absorbs their beliefs, sayings, and outlook; it adopts their likes and dislikes, including their critical attitude to

peoples who live in "foreign" parts. As a Welsh lad moves towards manhood the great men of his country, both past and present, become his heroes; he becomes keenly conscious of his nationality and proud of it. But suppose the parents of this lad had moved into England and that he had been born there. What would have been the result? He would have inherited and adopted the tradition of England and become indistinguishable from other Englishmen save by the name his parents brought with them from Wales. Let us now take a reverse case—that of an English family which moves into Wales and makes that country its permanent home. The children as they grow up become Welsh; they absorb the tradition of their new home. Nay, they may become ultra-Welsh and become leaders in what is called the Welsh movement. As thus stated, the case of Wales seems a complete justification of those who hold that nations are peoples separated by a difference in culture and tradition.

If such be the true state of the case, then how are we to account for the exuberant national spirit of Wales? Why this keen feeling of being different and separate from all other peoples? Why their partiality for their own people and their own soil—in short, their patriotism? Why this national pride and a sensitiveness to all that relates to the prestige, status, and honour of their country? The vast majority of marriages are between families native to the principality. We cannot explain these manifestations of nationalism in Wales by a theory that regards nations as merely cultural products. For a just solution of our problem we have to go deeper; we have to regard the people of Wales as an evolutionary unit, as a race-making group. We have seen (Essay XV) that isolation and inbreeding are essential conditions for race-production. A people with its own mode of speech, with its own traditions and customs, tends to be cut off and isolated from surrounding peoples; a difference in speech and culture, then, accelerates the process of nation-building, but is not the fundamental factor. We have seen (Essay XI, p. 95) how human nature is organized to maintain and perpetuate the isolation between local evolutionary groups by a spirit of antagonism and aversion to neighbouring groups, by practising co-operation and amity within its own ranks; by being emulative and competitive towards other groups; by having one code of behaviour for "home affairs" and an opposite code for "foreign

affairs." All these traits we meet with in the nationalism manifested by the people of Wales. Nation-building is thus part of the process of human evolution. It is the way by which races are brought into existence. Green, the historian, was in the right when he spoke of the Welsh people as a race.

If a nation is a race-building community, then we should find evidence of it in Wales. In their anthropological survey of the Welsh people, Fleure and James¹⁶ found evidence of local evolution—of districts or areas where the inhabitants were characterized by stature, head-form, and colouring. Some of these local communities, especially those occupying coastal areas, may be, as Professor Fleure thought, expansions or remnants of early settlements of immigrants from France or from Spain. In Merioneth, for example, there is a prevalence of that dark-complexioned, bullet-headed, and robust-bodied Alpine type which forms a noticeable component in the population of Wales. These local "pockets" are being disrupted by the coal and iron industries, which draw the inhabitants of the uplands and of the valleys to meet, mix, and intermarry in the towns and cities of South Wales. We may look on the industrial settlements of the south as national mints, which, having called in the ancient gene-coinage, place it in the melting-pot to be issued as a new gene-currency. In this way industry has become a factor in human evolution, a very powerful factor. There is evidence in Wales then, that nations are race-building communities.

In a preceding paragraph I spoke of the power which a nation has of absorbing and assimilating the youth of another nation. It is the nature of this power we must now look into. Every child born into the world has to learn to walk; with it is born an urge and an aptitude to acquire the art, and this makes the acquisition easy. It is also so with speech; that has to be learned; without an inborn aptitude a child would never speak. Even more important, at least for our present purpose, is a third aptitude—the inclination, appetite, or hunger for social intercourse. It is the exercise of this aptitude that makes a child a member of a family and then a member of its community. The power which a nation, or a race, has of assimilating immigrants and of imparting the national tongue, culture, tradition, and spirit to the immigrant young, depends on the presence in childhood of this inborn social aptitude. Without



it no assimilation could take place; no new nation could be established. This statement may cause strait-laced anthropologists to lift their eyebrows; because it is just this power to assimilate outside blood which compels them to deny that a nation is a race. I, on the other hand, regard assimilation as a part of the process of race-making. We shall see later that nations take some care in selecting the kind of immigrants they are willing to assimilate.

In the Welsh debate in the House of Commons, mentioned earlier in this essay, it was noticeable that half the members advocated a fuller co-operation with the economic life of England to relieve the industrial distress which had fallen on Wales. The more nationalist of the Welsh members rejected this policy, although it was manifestly to the advantage of Wales to be a participant in the more ample economic resources of England. It is said that "money speaks"; the voice of the nationalist is louder and more powerful than the voice of the economist; national self-sufficiency is preferred to economic gain. This attitude of mind seems unreasonable to the impartial onlooker. How are we to explain it? This is the explanation I have to offer. The nationalist mind is most deeply concerned with the integrity and perpetuation of its race; what is most feared is its death—death by absorption; in the case of Wales absorption by England. In a speech to a Welsh audience, the late Lord Lloyd George claimed that five times as many of the inhabitants of Wales spoke Welsh now as was the case in the time of Edward I. That is true, but he might have added that there were ten times as many English speakers in Wales as in King Edward's reign. There are upwards of two million in Wales; of these ten per cent have only one tongue—Welsh; forty per cent are bilingual, speaking English as well as Welsh; fifty per cent have only one tongue—English. Thus ninety per cent of the people of Wales speak the tongue of England, and speech serves as a carrier of culture. The nationalists of Wales, then, have grounds for fearing the death of their race by absorption—absorption by the larger and more powerful nationality of England.

Were I to suggest to Welsh nationalists that they were engaged on the ancient evolutionary task of race-building, I know that my suggestion would be received with scorn. The feelings which nationalism engenders in their minds—an exalted love for their

country, for its people, for its tongue, tradition, music, and song—assures them that they are not engaged on any selfish or mundane purpose. Yet it has to be remembered that the characteristic of an impulsive or instinctive action is that it is done for a purpose of which the doer is unaware. Nationalism belongs to the region of the instinctive. "Tribes and Nations," said McDougall,¹⁶ "work towards ends which no man can foresee." "The national will," wrote Bosanquet, "is unconscious of its ends." "Nations," reported the Church's Conference,¹⁷ "were created by God for the preservation of the heritage of the past; the nurture and training of successive generations, and the maintenance and improvement of the common life of men." Alongside this account of the duties carried out by nations, let me place the description of nationalism and the origin of nation-building given by Adam Smith in pre-Darwinian days:—

"We do not love our country merely as a part of the great society of mankind—we love it for its own sake, and independently of any such consideration. That wisdom which contrived the system of the human affections, as well as that of every other part of nature, seems to have judged that the interest of the great society of mankind would be best promoted by directing the principal attention of each individual to that particular portion of it which was most within the sphere both of his abilities and of his understanding."¹⁸

In both these accounts nations are regarded as divine creations, but it is Adam Smith who gets to the root of the matter, when he traces the machinery of nation-building to "the system of the human affections." Throughout this book my main contention has been that human nature, which is the "system of human affections," has been organized to serve instinctively in the purpose of man's evolution, and that this purpose has been carried out in the past, and is being carried out in the present, by group competing with group. Such groups form races, and it is by way of race-formation that human evolution is advanced. Nor does my conception of nation-building differ so greatly from that held by Adam Smith, or even from that expressed by the Church, as may appear on the surface. For modern biologists are unanimous in regarding the way of evolution as being that of creation.

If we regard a nation as a race-building society, then we can fit nations and nationalism into the evolutionary scheme of creation.

There is one aspect of nationalism I must not omit to mention. In the population of large modern cities it may remain latent until evoked by national crises, such as those which sweep a country in a time of war. The hardest task that educated men and women set themselves is to suppress all mental ties with the country of their birth and, by rising above all such accidental bonds, strive to become stateless citizens of the world. The civilized mind sees a gross injustice in being assigned a nationality by the circumstance of birth. Happily for most of us, the constitution of human nature is such that we are convinced that we have drawn prizes both in our parentage and in the country of our birth.

It is not necessary for me to consider here the merits and demerits, the good and evil aspects, of nationalism; they have been subjected to a full analysis recently by a body of experts.¹⁰ As an anthropologist, I am concerned, not with the ethics of nationalism, but only with its potency as an evolutionary agent. In the House of Commons, Mr. Winston Churchill,²⁰ with his eye on Germany, described nationalism "as the strongest force now at work." Professor Harold Laski, whose outlook is cosmopolitan, has spoken of the "profound and irrational impulses of nationalism," but, at the same time, recognized "the eager spirit of local and functional responsibility."²¹ Another aspect of nationalism is that it can work only in circumscribed areas. "Good government," said President Jefferson, "springs from a common interest in public affairs, and such common interest is possible only when the field of activities is circumscribed." The greater the territory the more difficult it is to establish a pervasive spirit of nationalism.

I have been discussing what may be called sane nationalism—the nationalism which springs from the heart, but is controlled by the head. In times of stress nationalism becomes inflamed and turns to hate. "The nearer the neighbour the greater the hate" (Voltaire). "Every nation," observed Lord Kames, "hates its neighbour without knowing why."²² I mention this hate-component of nationalism now because in the essay which follows I am to discuss "racialism," which also has hate as an accompaniment. Hate, it must be remembered, is a double-

edged weapon; it serves to unify and strengthen the energies of a nation at war, but it also serves to isolate that nation from its neighbours. I shall cite only one statement to illustrate the universality with which hate attends on nationality, one by the political philosopher, Walter Bagehot:²³ "Greece, Rome, Judea, were formed apart; quite their strongest common property was their antipathy to men of different race and of different speech." Bagehot marvelled over the universality of international hatred. He did not know that it is an exaggeration or inflammation of the aversion which kept local groups apart in the primal world.

One other manifestation of exaggerated nationalism is seen in the demand made by national communities for an absolute right to determine their respective destinies, free from all outside interference or control—the right of "sovereignty." National sovereignty has wrecked, so far, every attempt to bring all nations under a common world government. This matter I have discussed elsewhere.²⁴

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RACIALISM: ITS NATURE AND ITS PREVALENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Synopsis.—Racialism is akin to nationalism, but can be distinguished from it. Racialism may be homo-ethnic and hetero-ethnic. Racialism may lie dormant as in England. Racial pride and a sense of superiority. The author proposes to use instances from South Africa to illustrate the manifestations of racialism. The extent of the Union of South Africa and the diversity of its population. The problem presented by the presence of Asiatics. The early settlement of the Dutch. The arrival of the British. The attitude of early settlers to native peoples. The Boer treks. The Boer War. The formation of the Union in 1910. Dutch influence reasserts itself more and more in the political and social life of the Union. The antagonistic feeling between Briton and Boer is one of racialism. The nature of racialism examined. The clash in Natal between Indians and British. The love of gain has been fruitful in bringing about the mingling of diverse peoples. Class exclusiveness is of the same nature as racial exclusiveness. Race discrimination. Hybridization as a cure for racialism. Racial fusion in Portuguese East Africa. The aversion to hybridization is acquired. Regarded as an unthinkable solution by the Whites of South Africa.

If I am right in regarding nations as races—the thesis maintained in the preceding essay—then the group feeling manifested by a nation—nationalism—must be of the same nature as that manifested by a race—racialism. Such is the theme I am to discuss in this essay; I hope to prove that nationalism and racialism spring from the same mental source. The essential difference between nationalism and racialism concerns territory; nationalism, with the antagonism, or even hatred, which so often accompanies it, is manifested by peoples, each of which lives within its own territory; racialism, with its attendant ill-feeling, is manifested by diverse and racially-minded peoples who live within the same territory. The antagonistic peoples living within the same territory may be

of two sorts. They may be so alike in a physical sense that the one opponent cannot be distinguished from the other by sight; or they may be so different in their physical markings that a glance is sufficient to distinguish the one from the other. In the first case marriage between parents of the two opposing peoples gives a progeny which cannot be distinguished from that of "pure" marriages; but in the second case, where parents are of diverse type, marriage results in a progeny which is distinguishably different from either parental type and may be disavowed or ostracized by one, or even by both, of the parental races. In current speech the term racialism is restricted to the discriminatory feelings which arise when clearly differentiated *varieties* of mankind are brought in contact within the same city, or within the same country. It would be convenient to have terms to distinguish these two forms of racialism. We might speak of that which arises between peoples who are alike in a physical sense as homo-ethnic racialism, and that between physically diverse peoples as hetero-ethnic racialism. It is hard to distinguish psychologically between homo-ethnic racialism and nationalism.

Racialism, like nationalism, may lie dormant in a people. The English people at home, for example, receive visitors from abroad, no matter what their colour or features may be, on terms of friendship and equality. Yet when an Englishman goes to live in the midst of a native population, be he ruler or be he trader, he does become conscious of a difference between himself and the people with whom he has to mix. A feeling which had been dormant at home awakes with the impact made on him by his new surroundings. He may be affected also by the spirit of exclusiveness which prevails among his compatriots. It has been said ¹ that "natives are leaving Northern Rhodesia for the Belgian Congo to escape from English exclusiveness." Viscount Bryce, a man with a long and intimate experience of peoples and governments, put into words what most English officials feel, but seldom express: "It needs the tenderness of a saint to extend white manners to black compatriots."²

Racialism has also another important similarity to nationalism; both are apt to be accompanied by a sense of pride and a feeling of superiority. In its sane form a feeling of ability and power is an asset for any people; a nation with a just and good conceit of itself is a strong nation. It is when national pride grows aggressive

and intoxicated that it becomes injurious and dangerous. So it is with racialism; within the bounds of mutual respect it works for good; outside these bounds it works for evil.

In discussing nationalism I placed Wales in the centre of my stage to illustrate its manifestations by giving concrete examples. To study the moods and tenses of racialism I propose to carry my readers to the Union of South Africa. Before beginning our survey, there are certain preliminary matters to be noted. In Wales we had to deal with a population of 2·2 millions; the white population of South Africa numbers little more than that of Wales; the estimate for 1946 is 2·5 millions, but this population is spread over an area nine times that of England and Wales combined. It is a sparsely-occupied country. The Bantu-speaking Negroes are more than three times as numerous as the Whites; they number upwards of seven millions. Most of them still retain their ancient tribal organization and are confined to certain areas which have been allotted to them. Some have taken to town-life, while others are found in small scattered groups throughout the Union. Besides the Bantus there are two other distinctive African races, both of which appear to be the evolutionary products of South Africa—the Bushmen and the Hottentots. It is estimated that only about 6,000 of the Bushmen now survive; the number of Hottentots is estimated at 80,000. A fifth element of the population is represented by the “coloured” people of hybrid origin. In them Hottentot, European, and other strains are mingled. They number about 700,000. Two other distinctive elements in the population of South Africa are of Asiatic origin—the Indians and the Malays. The Malays are few in number and patient in behaviour; the Indians, on the other hand, are assertive and increase in numbers. In the city of Durban, for example, they form almost half of the population, numbering 110,000 against a white population of 120,000.³ Thus in the total population of the Union of South Africa, numbering upwards of eleven million, *seven distinctive breeds of mankind are brought to live side by side to find, as best they can, a way to a common corporate life.*

When, in 1652, the Dutch East India Company established a victualling station at the Cape for the benefit of their India-bound ships, it had no thought of colonizing the land, much less the intention of founding a nation.⁴ Jan van Riebeck, who had

been a ship-surgeon, was placed in charge of the station. Soon there was friction with neighbouring tribes of Hottentots whose pastoral rights were being curtailed. Colonization began in 1671, when sixty-four Dutch burghers and their families arrived. In 1686 the original colonists had added to their number settlers from France (Huguenots) and from West Germany. Intermarriage with natives was forbidden; Dutch was the language ordained to be taught in schools. Slaves were introduced at an early period. In 1691 the colony had reached the thousand mark; two-thirds were of Dutch origin; the slaves numbered 340. Rather more than a century later, when Britain and Holland were engaged in war against France, the Dutch colony at the Cape had become 14,000 strong and owned 17,000 slaves.

In 1806 the British landed an armed force at the Cape and took possession; annexation to the Empire followed in 1814. It was claimed that "27,000 colonists had been added to the Crown." These colonists were Dutch peasants or Boers who had conquered and occupied the lands which now form the western part of the Cape Province. They were a stubborn people, with their own brand of nationalism, their own language, their own laws, their own religion, and their own mode of life. In two matters they were adamant; they would brook no interference with their attitude towards native peoples; there must be one law for the Whites, another for the Blacks; and they refused to free their slaves; they regarded slavery as lawful and also necessary.

British immigrants began to arrive in 1817, and this was encouraged by the Government throughout the remaining part of the nineteenth century. English was introduced into the courts; so, too, was English law. Tension between Boer and Briton reached breaking-point in 1834, when the Government ordained that in the eye of the law White and Black were to be on an equal footing; slaves had to be set free. Rather than submit, the more ardently minded Boers trekked northwards into the wilds, and ultimately established independent republics in the Transvaal and in the Orange Free State (1852-4). The annexation of Natal in 1848, with the arrival of British settlers there, and also in the eastern coastal areas of Cape Colony, helped to strengthen the British position in South Africa.

The turn of the century brought the Boer War—the second crisis in the relationship of Briton to Boer. The war left the

British Government as the supreme power in South Africa. That power was handed back to the Whites of South Africa when the Union was effected in 1910. From then until the present year (1946) Boer influence has dominated the political field more and more, the British less and less. In 1914 Afrikaans took an equal place with English in schools; in 1925 it was given a similar place in government offices. The census of 1926 returned fifty-seven per cent of the Whites as of Dutch descent and only thirty-four per cent as of British origin.⁵ The King's head disappeared from postage stamps; the more ardent of the Boer nationalists have publicly proclaimed their desire to eliminate everything British from public life in South Africa; "British subjects" became "union nationals"; the British Flag and the British national anthem had to be replaced by emblems or symbols more in keeping with Boer feelings; in the list of Governors-General Dutch names replaced those of Englishmen. In the new white nation of South Africa we see, or seem to see, a rebirth of the Boer tradition, of the Boer national spirit with the prospect of the absorption and disappearance of all that is dear to the British heart.

Why should this prospect be viewed with alarm and accompanied by such a depth of feeling and of passion? What name are we to give to the feelings so manifested? If my critics suggest that the right name is "nationalism," I can but agree; nationalism is the feeling which characterizes a nation in the throes of race-making. But it is nationalism being manifested under conditions essentially different from this which we have seen to exist in Wales. In South Africa we have two nations, physically indistinguishable, intermingled, and struggling against each other for survival; nationalism is contending with nationalism within the same territory; the feelings evoked are those connected with race-making and provide the basis of racialism. It is the struggle for survival between two diverse, but intermingled peoples which evokes the feelings known as racialism.

The rational onlooker may say that this fear of absorption on the part of the South African British and death of their nationality in the new Commonwealth is an unworthy and evil prejudice and should be got rid of. Our problem, however, is to explain why this fear should always arise when two intermingled peoples are involved in a contest for survival. And we have to seek for

an explanation of this instinctive fear or prejudice in the ingredients which go to the make-up of human nature. The two strongest of man's inborn fears are, first, the fear of individual death; the second is the fear of the extermination or death of his family, his nation, or his race. It is the fear of racial death which evokes the feelings, passions, and antagonisms we call racialism. We have sought to prove that perpetuation or survival is necessary if a group or race is to work out its evolutionary destiny. Racialism, then, is a manifestation of our biased evolutionary mentality. Moralists may be right in declaring that all such prejudices should be consigned to the lumber heap. Here I am not concerned with the moral aspects of such prejudices and fears, but merely with their existence and with the significance which must be attached to them.

By discussing the existence of racialism between peoples which are not separated from each other by colour or by distinctive physical markings, I have prepared the way for the consideration of the clashes which occur in South Africa between peoples who are so separated. The first example of "clash" I am to survey is that which exists between Whites and natives of India. As most of the Hindus are resident in Natal, and are estimated now⁶ to number 250,000, it would be more accurate to say that the parties concerned are "Union nationals" of British descent and Indians who are, or were, subjects of the British Crown. The desire of economic gain, by the importation of cheap labour on the part of pioneering generations of Europeans, has been one of the more fruitful causes in bringing about the mingling of diverse peoples. It was the economic motive which brought the Indians to Natal; in 1860 the sugar-planters were in need of labour, and sought for it in India. Contingents of Hindus arrived under contract, but when the period of their indentures had expired, finding Natal a pleasant land, they preferred to make a home there rather than return to India. They were allowed to acquire land and settle down. As they increased in numbers—for their birth-rate is twice that of their white neighbours—alarm began to seize the resident British. The following extract from a communication which appeared in *The Times*⁶ during 1946 will reveal the kind of antagonism which now marks the relation of White-skins to Brown-skins: "So conscious is the European in South Africa of the colour bar that the purchase of a house by an Indian among Europeans causes properties to depreciate." The

white nationals of Natal demand that such intrusions should be prohibited by law and that their neighbours from India should be segregated from white communities. The head of the Government of South Africa (General Smuts) favours communal segregation as a solution of racial troubles.

I must turn aside for a moment from the line of my argument to answer a criticism which is certain to be made of the instance just given to illustrate race discrimination. My critics will say that the fall in the value of city property which attends the intrusion of undesirables is an experience with which Europeans are familiar; it springs from class-snobbery, not from racial discrimination. In this I agree, but I would remind my readers that in a previous essay (see p. 92) I have sought to prove that the mental machinery which underlies the formation of class is the same as that concerned in race-building. The instance cited from Natal differs from those which occur in Europe by the classes in Natal being separated by a physical diversity; at birth each is given its racial unchangeable livery.

The Indians in Natal naturally resent the limitations and restrictions imposed on them; they demand full political and social equality; their sense of justice is offended by the existence of two laws—one for the Whites, another for the Browns. Racial discrimination within a people or a nation is attended by many evils; there is the feeling of an enemy in its midst, there is a lack of unity. There is also the working of the Christian conscience which seeks to eliminate the colour bar by intermarriage. Now, intermarriage between Boer and Briton heals many a breach, but intermarriage between Whites and Browns brings into existence a third race, a race of half-castes, whose cruel and miserable position in a community has been so poignantly told by one of them—Cedric Dover.⁷ The barrier against marriage is maintained, not by the Indians, but by the British of Natal. The British as a community reject hybridization as a solution of their racial difficulties. Is not their fear of the kind I have already mentioned—the fear that hybridization brings with it the extinction of their race? Racial pride must also be taken into account.

Let us now cross the northern frontier of Natal and enter Portuguese East Africa to learn how racial difficulties have been solved in that land. The Portuguese arrived in this territory more than



a century before the settlement of the Dutch at the Cape. "No European nation," wrote McCall Theal,⁸ "has ever treated Negroes so mildly as the Portuguese, or been so ready to mix with them on equal terms." In the early pioneering times soldiers were encouraged to marry natives. The Portuguese ambassador to the Court of St. James, when speaking in London in 1939, assured his audience that the building up of the Portuguese Empire had been crowned by success because "the assimilation of natives had been a guiding principle."⁹ Another constant aim was, and is, "the integration of natives in the national community; the creation in each colony of a homogeneous community. The results, he maintained, justified Portugal in her "abandonment of the prejudice of racialism." Neither the Portuguese nor the Spaniards have ever shown a sensitiveness to race in the governing of colonies; they have been ready to embrace all races with an equal ardour. Now, it is impossible to believe that human nature has one constitution in Portuguese and another in Britons and Boers. Is race prejudice, then, something which is taught, something which is learned and is not instinctive or inborn? We now return to our survey of the Cape peoples in the hope that we may be able to throw light on this important matter.

Let us first consider the case of the "coloured people," now numbering close upon 700,000 and blended intimately in the domestic industries of the Cape Province. This distinctive race began to come into existence in the early days of the Dutch settlement. Robust Europeans, deprived of the companionship of their women, and urged by the imperiousness of one of the most potent of natural appetites, satisfied their lusts by consorting with women of the Hottentot race. From this we learn that the sexual passion, when in distress, is no respecter of race; there is no inborn sexual racial discrimination. This loose state of social life came to an end in 1685; the early settlers had been joined by women of their own fraternity; a strong public opinion was established; Dutch-Hottentot marriages were forbidden. Thus the danger of hybridity, which at one time threatened the existence of the Dutch as a race, was removed, not by any inborn racial aversion, but by the establishment of a rigorous and exclusive marital tradition.

In the foregoing paragraph there are a few points which require special emphasis. The sex passion is individual in its activities;

racial exclusiveness is collective in its action; it is a manifestation of the group spirit. Collective opinion secures purity of marriage by ostracizing offenders. Yet I am inclined to suspect that sexual selection and race exclusiveness are not altogether acquired tastes. If the primary races of the world were to be mingled in a country, I would expect that "like would to like." The desire for position or status, both on the part of the individual and of the group, I regard as an inborn predisposition; Dutch communities succeeded in winning a position of superiority in the eyes of the natives of the Cape. The desire for status thus plays a part in the building up of races. Also, I regard the longing which a father has for the perpetuation of his family and of his nation as inborn qualities. I must touch again, too, on the merits and demerits of the progeny which the mating of diverse races or varieties brings into existence. It can hardly be maintained that the hybrid "coloured people" of the Cape are the equals of the Dutch, no matter what standard we apply in our judgment.

We now come to the greatest of all the racial problems which confronts the Government of the Union. There are upwards of seven millions of Bantu Negroes in the Union, three times the number of Whites. The Bantus are strong, vigorous, and able-bodied; they are not devoid of a fighting spirit. As most of them are still confined to tribal areas and are under the government of chiefs, they lack the collective feeling of nationalism, for a manifestation of nationalism becomes possible only when a people has been detribalized and are free to exploit their individual lives. The Black has no inborn antipathy to the White as long as they are kept apart socially. The attempts which have been made by propagandists from without to foment strife between Bantus and Cape Europeans have hitherto failed. But conflict has arisen when Negroes have broken away from their tribal allegiance and made their homes in the poorer quarters of towns and cities. In such locations they are brought in contact with the poorer Whites which make up about ten per cent of the European population. The White regards the close proximity of his Black neighbours as a threat to his status, or perhaps as a challenge to his racial superiority. There is also a sense of rivalry and competition between the members of a poor White community and those of a Negro community which passes into animosity and hatred. No doubt a difference in colour does exacerbate the

hatred; but the point I am seeking to make still remains valid; race hatred is not primarily due to difference of colour, but to the clash which arises when two opposed communities are brought into close relation with one another. "It is when natives attempt to assume," Duerden has observed, "an attitude or position of equality with the White that antipathy is engendered and manifested."¹⁰ From which one is free to infer that the infringement of status takes a big share in racialism, and that antipathy has its origin in the Whites, not in the Blacks. The same authority also assures us that "the whole attitude of the Negro in South Africa towards the white man is one of dependence and receptiveness."¹¹

I have quoted from a reliable source the attitude of the Blacks of South Africa to the Whites; I will now quote from an equally reliable source the attitude of Europeans to the native peoples of South Africa.¹² "Natives of South Africa," we are told, "lived under easy climatic conditions; their wants were few . . . they needed the stimulus which contact with more progressive communities could alone supply." The stimulus needed was that of money, markets, and industry, including detribalization. What would have been the state of South Africa if seven millions of Bantus had been detribalized and become distributed throughout the Union? The white man's position in South Africa would have been threatened. The Government of South Africa pursues an opposite policy—one of segregation. Its policy has been epitomized by Evans¹³ thus: "To ensure development without clash and without fusion." If all the peoples of South Africa were to pool their genes and bring into being a homogeneous people of mixed origin, their racial antagonisms would vanish. This racial policy which seemed natural to the Portuguese and Spaniards is viewed with horror by the Whites of South Africa. In 1919 the Rev. Dr. W. Flint,¹⁴ in a public address to the people of the Cape, said that "hybridization as a solution was unthinkable in South Africa." Dr. Duerden,¹⁵ two years later, "viewed inbreeding as a solution with an absolute abhorrence." Such, then, are some of the aspects presented by racialism as manifested in South Africa.

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NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION ILLUSTRATED BY THE CASE OF THE IRISH FREE STATE

Synopsis.—A biblical instance of self-determination. A biological definition of self-determination. The term is applied to the separation of national communities, not to the origin of new groups of tribes. Detribalization is a necessary preliminary stage. Self-determination is a manifestation of nationalism. The peopling of Ireland. Its earliest inhabitants were food-gatherers; they were arranged in local groups. Emigrants arriving during the second and the first millennia B.C. brought to Ireland ■ knowledge of stock-raising and of tillage. Possible survival of the food-gatherers. The arrival of a master race—the Goidels. They gave Ireland a common speech but not a unified government. The number of tribes and of tribal confederacies in Ireland. The inter-tribal struggle led to the formation of larger and larger tribal combinations. No unifying power ever arose in tribal Ireland. A summary of the chief events which converted tribal Ireland into national Ireland. The Goidelization of English settlers. Systematic attempts at detribalization. The hatred of England became a unifying force. National fermentation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The revolution of 1916. Eamon de Valera unfolds the policy of self-determination. The attending cultural transformation. An evolutionary explanation. The future of Eire.

In a previous essay (XXXI) I took my readers to Scotland to mark the steps which led to the birth of nationalism and of a nation; then, in a subsequent essay (XXXIV), I went to Wales to illustrate the fears, aspirations, and workings of the national spirit. In this essay I propose to discuss another and very important aspect of nationalism—that known as the principle or process of “self-determination.” Since boyhood I have seen this process at work in Ireland, culminating in 1922 in the “break-away” of the South Irish. In this essay, then, a nation in the throes of self-determination is my theme, and Ireland is to supply my illustrative materials.

Readers will find a biblical example of self-determination in an early chapter of Genesis.¹ It is the case of the overgrown Abram-Lot pastoral community :—

“And the land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together. . . . And Abram said unto Lot. . . . Is not the whole land before thee? Separate, I pray thee, from me; if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right. . . . Then Lot chose all the plain of Jordan.”

So what had been a single community or tribe, subdivided, each unit passing into the world to work out its own independent destiny. Such is the process of self-determination. It would be more in accordance with my main theme were we to regard the Abramic tribe as the original or paternal unit, Lot's people representing the self-determiners or seceders. A people, then, which separates itself from a parent group, or from a surrounding population, and sets out, trusting to its own right arm for its defence, to live apart from all other peoples and “dree its ain weird,” has undergone the process of self-determination. “Self-determination,” said Wickham Steed, “is a mystical and ill-defined concept.”² To a biologist there is nothing mystical about the act of self-determination; the swarm of bees which comes out from the mother hive with their queen to form a new hive or colony illustrates the act of self-determination; it is an act of birth which brings into being a new and independent social group or evolutionary unit. The act is attended by a mental disturbance or fever. In the earliest stages of human evolution, when a small local group represented an evolutionary unit, new groups were being constantly formed by fission or division of the old, but it would be pedantic to apply the clumsy term “self-determination” to such a simple process. So, too, when the evolutionary unit became tribal in size; new tribes were formed by a budding-off or division of older overgrown tribes. The term self-determination is properly reserved for peoples who have reached a national stage in evolution. In this stage men and women have become free from the old tribal bonds and have assumed varying degrees of individual responsibility; they have been detribalized. Self-determination is seen at work only in detribalized communities; the population of an area, speaking a common dialect and carrying

on a common tradition, come to feel that it is different from surrounding populations and with that feeling comes the desire for separation. When the resolution to separate and form a new people or nation passes into action, then we see the principle and practice of self-determination in active operation. Self-determination, then, is a manifestation of nationalism; it is attended by the birth-throes which herald the formation of a new nationality.

Among my predecessors there has been no one who has understood the nature and the strength of self-determination so clearly as the late Dr. Wm. McDougall. In 1920 he wrote this of it: "The desire and aspiration to achieve nationhood is the most powerful motive underlying the collective action of mankind."³ Its strength lies in the impulses which spring from below the threshold of man's conscious self. It is part of the machinery of human evolution.

In the foregoing paragraphs I have given a biological explanation of what is implied by the term, "self-determination." I now turn to my main theme—that of Ireland. How and when did this western appanage of Europe come by its inhabitants? It seems to have been the last of European lands to become the home of mankind. Archæologists⁴ are agreed that the earliest traces of man in Ireland cannot be dated sooner than 6000 B.C. if so early. Somewhat earlier than that date, food-gathering Caucasians had reached northern England and Scotland, and it is probable that the first settlers to reach Northern Ireland were groups which broke away from the mesolithic people of the British mainland. From 6000 B.C. down to a date which we may fix arbitrarily at 2200 B.C. our knowledge of Ireland is almost a blank, and we have found no certain evidence of new arrivals. But seeing how green and fertile Ireland was and is, it must have proved a paradise for its earliest inhabitants—the food-gathering groups. It is not too much to assume that the groups of early settlers speedily increased in numbers, divided, and re-divided until they had spread throughout the whole of the island. It is not improbable that before the end of the third millennium the population of the island had reached the maximum which a fertile country can maintain on its natural produce—namely, one soul per square mile. The area of Ireland is a little over 32,000 square miles; the population at the end of the food-gathering stage may

have numbered 32,000 souls—men, women, and children. The people were divided into small local groups; some of these groups may have been large; others were small; taking one locality with another the number in a group may have averaged fifty. Each group occupied its own territory. Thus, by the end of the food-gathering period Ireland was probably divided into over 600 local territories, each occupied by its own community. We may assume, too, that these local communities were in active rivalry with each other.

Towards the end of the third millennium Ireland entered on a new phase of her history. Ships laden with emigrants from France, Spain, and Mediterranean lands then began to sail up the Irish Sea, leaving settlers both on the mainland of Britain and in Ireland. These were the pioneers who introduced the art of tillage and of stock-raising to Ireland. They were pastoralists rather than agriculturalists; they brought a new and enhanced mode of life to their adopted country. These early arrivals came in tribal groups, which effected settlements on the territories of the original inhabitants, the food-gatherers. What happened to the food-gathering Irish is a moot point, but Dr. Coon⁵ is persuaded that to account for certain characters of the modern Irish—their large and long heads, their stature and strength of body, and the light colouring of their eyes—it must be assumed that many of the primitive natives survived and transmitted to the modern Irish the characteristics just enumerated.

All through the second millennium and far into the first millennium B.C., emigrants continued to arrive from S.W. Europe; they were joined by others who came directly or indirectly from Central Europe. These new arrivals brought with them a knowledge of arts and crafts which were new to Ireland. Ireland thus acquired the art of working in bronze and of fashioning weapons and ornaments in that metal. She became famed for her ornaments in gold. Many of her tribes grew large and wealthy. She was probably the most populous and prosperous of all the tribal countries of Western Europe in the second millennium B.C.

We now come to one of the most important and yet one of the most obscure events in the history of Ireland—the arrival of the Goidels, bringing with them their Gaelic speech, which they succeeded in making the tongue of Ireland. Their original home



was certainly in Central Europe, but they are assumed to have spread their aristocratic rule into France and into Spain. Tradition holds that the Goidels (known also as Milesians and as Scots) reached Ireland from Spain, and this may well be true, for the sea route from Spain to Ireland was of ancient standing. Somewhere about 400 B.C. the Goidels invaded Ireland, but where they landed and the drawn-out campaigns they fought with resident tribes, we know nothing of save that ultimately they succeeded in imposing their language from Cork to Donegal. But if this conquering people gave the Irish a common speech, it failed to give the country a unified government. Tribes remained apart, each under its own chief.

An ancient authority, quoted by Prichard,⁶ gave the number of tribal confederacies (nations) in Ireland during the third century of our era as sixteen, and the number of cities as eleven. This estimate tallies very well with records of the fifth century, when Christianity reached Ireland, and with others made at a later date. Brooke⁷ has collected data relating to the tribes of Ireland from various authorities, and the numbers given by him are the following: There were thirty-five tribes in Ulster, grouped so as to form four confederacies; there were thirty in Connaught, arranged in three combinations; seventy-one in Munster, in three confederacies, and in Leinster (including Meath), forty-nine tribes forming three confederacies. Thus the total number of tribes was 185, grouped into thirteen confederacies.

We have seen that the tribes of Germany, France, England, and Scotland, before the dawn of the Christian era, had, in their mutual struggle for power and for survival, been compelled to form confederacies, the weaker tribes seeking the protection of the stronger. Although Ireland was isolated from the rest of Europe, yet the same tendency to the formation of larger units was at work. It is also of interest to note that the regional grouping of the tribes foreshadows the emergence of the four provinces into which Ireland became divided. One has to remember, too, the perpetual struggle that went on between tribes and tribal confederacies; the Irish tribes which reached the seventeenth century of our era were those which had succeeded in weathering the tribal storms which had swept Ireland for a period of some forty centuries. Another circumstance has to be kept in mind. The Roman occupation and the coming of the Saxons detribalized the

population of England and gave that country a single dominant central government. The Anglo-Saxons detribalized the great part of Scotland and gave that country a single government. Nothing of this kind happened in Ireland; her population retained its tribal organization until the seventeenth century. It was not until then that the population of Ireland reached a *national* stage in its evolution.

I shall now attempt to summarize, as briefly as I may, the long chapter of events which transformed tribal Ireland into national Ireland. England, quite unwittingly, forged the Irish into a nationality. Our drama begins in the reign of Henry II of England (1154-89) and ends in Cromwell's time (1652). The first act of the drama took place in 1171, when Henry sent a force of 4,000 men, carried in a fleet of 400 ships, to establish rule in Ireland. The province of Leinster was conquered; towns were built, Anglo-Norman nobles carved feudal estates out of tribal territories, thus replacing native Irish chiefs. Some of the barons established themselves in Connaught, others in Munster. English individualism proved weak when it came up against the compelling spirit of Irish tribalism. The children of many of the original settlers married Irish wives, learned to speak the Irish tongue, and replaced English ways of living by those of the natives among whom they resided. Many of the heads of Anglo-Norman families, instead of upholding the rule of the English king in Ireland, became his bitterest enemies. From the invasion of Ireland by Henry II until Henry VIII dipped his oar in the troubled waters of Ireland (1527)—that is, for a period of three centuries and a half—the Goidelization of the English went on. Ultimately the greater part of the fresh blood which England poured into Ireland during these centuries came to flow in Irish veins.

A systematic attempt to detribalize the people of Ireland was initiated by Henry VIII in 1527, and was pursued with exacerbations and remissions until Cromwell's time—a period of 125 years. Henry shrank from clearing the natives off their tribal lands and replacing them with settlers from England. Instead he pursued what may be termed a policy of conciliation. Chiefs, who held their lands in trust for their tribesmen, were given full possession; they were awarded English titles and English names; they were tempted to replace their native tongue and the native code of law by adopting those of England. "To all this," said

J. R. Green,⁸ "the Celts opposed the tenacious obstinacy of their race." In Queen Elizabeth's time this policy of conciliation was changed to that of forceful coercion. Large areas of tribal lands were confiscated by the Crown; chiefs and their followers were driven from their homes and territories to be replaced by settlers from England. Munster was reduced to a wilderness; the tribes of Ulster rose in open rebellion. Men were prohibited from using their Irish names. Tribesmen were given tenancies, and so encouraged to break away from their chiefs. In the reign of James I the policy of coercion, confiscation, and plantation was continued with added vigour. Then came the great Irish rising of 1641, with the massacre of English settlers, and finally, by way of revenge, the cruel bludgeoning of the Irish by Cromwell in 1652. At last the tribal bonds of the Irish broke; tribesmen became scattered; detribalization had at last been accomplished.

"A country," said Gibbon,⁹ "is unsubdued as long as the minds of the people are actuated by a hostile contumacious spirit." That spirit has pervaded the Irish ever since England set foot on their country. With the breaking of the tribes the old inter-tribal animosities vanished; men were free to join new combinations; a hatred of England served as a force to draw the Irish together. All through the eighteenth century a revolutionary ferment was at work coming to the surface from time to time in open rebellion. During that century and during the whole of the nineteenth there were always three parties in Ireland, the extremists, the moderates, and the loyalists. The extremists always held an advantage over the other parties in that they were prepared to sacrifice their lives to secure their ends and also to sacrifice all who were not on their side.

We may pass at once to the critical event of 1916 which took place in Dublin. Britain was then engaged in a life-and-death struggle with Germany; it was then that a party of revolutionaries declared an Irish Republic. After the war the old coercive measures were again applied to Ireland. By the end of 1921 Lloyd George and his colleagues realized that loyalty may be won, but it can never be coerced. The Irish were given "Dominion Status"; they obtained the wide degree of independence held by the other dominions of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

For the first ten years—that is, from 1922 to 1932—the Irish

Free State followed the Dominion pathway with circumspection, but in the latter year Eamon de Valera became Prime Minister and leader in the Dail, and then the whole policy of self-determination began to unfold itself. On coming to power he gave an interview to a correspondent of the *New York Times*,¹⁰ whom he informed that "he had found the key to Ireland's needs in his own heart." Although the son of a Spanish father and born in New York (1882), he grew up in Ireland, and as he grew up learned to interpret the inner feelings of his revolutionary contemporaries by noting those which passed within his own mind. He knew well the workings of the tribal spirit. As soon as he was in power he picked a quarrel with the British Government over the payment of certain annuities, knowing well that he would have the support of every Irish partisan. It was in this quarrel that he informed the representative of the British Government that "no sacrifice in the cause of Irish nationalism could be too great." The oath of allegiance to the Crown was abolished; the citizens of the Irish Free State were declared to be no longer British subjects; the return of Ulster was demanded. Then, in 1937, came the culmination of the determinate policy. The Irish Free State took the name of Eire; it was proclaimed to be "a sovereign independent democratic State with inalienable, indefeasible right to chose its own form of government, to determine its relations with other nations, and to develop its life, political, economic, and cultural, in accordance with its own genius and traditions."¹¹ Thus in the year 1937 the greater part of the inhabitants of Ireland separated themselves from surrounding peoples and set out as an evolutionary unit to exploit the potentialities of their minds and bodies in the light and leading of their own genius, and so bring into existence a distinctive Irish race.

A people in the throes of self-determination always enacts a series of cultural transformations. In this respect Eire conformed to the rule. The characteristic quality of all these cultural changes is that they serve to isolate an evolving nation from its neighbours. Eire at once set out to resuscitate the Erse or Gaelic tongue. This was an uphill task. Early in the eighteenth century four people out of every five used Irish as their habitual tongue, but during that century English so far prevailed over Irish that by 1911 only one person out of seven was a speaker of Gaelic.



Nevertheless De Valera was hopeful that "the enthusiasm which won Ireland her independence would succeed in restoring her ancient tongue." Teaching in Irish was made compulsory in schools, colleges, and universities. All departments of government were renamed; so were streets, squares, post-offices, and railway stations. Beloved and familiar personal Irish names came out in spellings unrecognizable to English eyes. It was as if a snowdrift had fallen in a night on Ireland and blotted out familiar landscapes. There was a campaign against English books because "they did injury to the national consciousness." The Gaelic League¹² thought there was a danger of "our ancient Irish nation sinking into a west Britain"—a fear very similar to that of the Welsh nationalists (p. 348). Native arts and crafts were fostered; so were drama and literature. Irish games were encouraged; those of English origin were frowned upon. The Irish national flag was stripped of every British symbol; the "Soldier's Song" replaced "God save the King."

Such are the ways in which a self-determining nation transforms itself. All these changes are isolating in their effects. They serve to isolate the Irish from the English-speaking peoples of Britain; at the same time the Irish are also cutting themselves off from English-speaking America. There is a still greater sacrifice. There is a far larger Irish family living outside than inside the bounds of Ireland. In the populations of the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand there are upwards of ten millions who regard Ireland as their ancestral home. By Goidelizing herself Ireland has cut herself off from her emigrant sons and daughters. Such are the sacrifices which are willingly made in the cause of nationalisation.

How are we to explain the strange conduct of a self-determinist people? The explanation I offer may be summed up as follows:—Race-building has been, and still is, the mode of human evolution; to form a race, a people must isolate itself and become a nation; a nation is a community engaged in race-building. Underneath and supporting these assumptions is the important basal postulate—namely, that human nature is so constituted as to carry on the process of race-building automatically. As we have seen, McDougall regarded the "desire and aspiration to achieve nationhood as the most powerful collective action of mankind."

In this essay, so far as I have gone, I have sought to forget my

British nationality and write as an anthropologist. I am now to view Ireland from a British point of view. The British Isles, of which Ireland is one, has come to be the home of a confederacy of nations, that of England greatly exceeding the others in size and in power. The safety and security of one of us is the safety and security of all of us. We have therefore not only duties towards each other as neighbours, but our need for security gives us certain rights in the affairs of one another. Such, however, is not De Valera's conception of our mutual relationships. In 1934 he bluntly told Britain "to go out and have nothing to do with us; we don't want to have anything to do with you."¹³ In the war with Germany (1939-45), when defensive positions in Ireland might have been of the greatest service, Britain respected Eire's desire for neutrality. In 1939 the defensive needs of Russia were somewhat similar to those of Britain. The Government of the Soviet Republics demanded from Finland—which was and is an independent sovereign nation—ports, airfields, and strong points to strengthen her Baltic approaches. Finland refused, but was ultimately compelled to yield them to the overpowering force of Russian arms. Some day Eire may recognize that Britain deserves a mead of praise for the restraint which she exercised in her most perilous days.

There is a weakness in the constitution of Eire which will become more manifest as years speed by. She laid her foundation in hate—hate of England. Hate gave her unity. Now, hate, whether exercised individually or collectively, is the most searing and exhausting of human passions. Hate is a fire that needs continual stoking; it has to be fed by magnified grievances and deeds of ill-will. Sooner or later it burns itself out. When this happens in Eire, as happen it will, the small voice of reason and the more urgent call of self-interest may make themselves heard. When these things come about Eire's mood may change, and she may wish to again take her rightful place in the confederacy of British nations.

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THE JEWS AS A NATION AND AS A RACE

Synopsis.—Territory as the usual national bond. The process of assimilation. The Jewish bond is not territorial. His sense of nationality is mobile. Hesitant opinions regarding the national status of the Jews. The author holds that they are a nation and also a race. The biblical history of the Children of Israel. Detribalization of the Israelites. The contrasted fates of the Ten Tribes and of the Tribe of Judah. The evolution of the Jewish sense of race. Jewish mentality. The Jews become traders. Armenians and Parsis compared with Jews. The Dispersion. Diversity of Jewish types due to a certain extent to mixture of race, but chiefly to the selective changes which the Jews have undergone as they spread abroad. The qualities selected and strengthened were psychological. Inter-marriage with Gentiles was forbidden. The Jewish resistance to assimilation weakened under liberal treatment and hardened under persecution.

THE nations we have been dealing with so far are held together as units by their territories; take them off their native lands and in a generation or two their sense of nationality becomes changed. Welsh, Irish, and Scottish families settling in England are soon absorbed or assimilated, for not only are the new arrivals in need of social contacts with their English neighbours, but these same neighbours resent the presence of strangers who keep aloof. Thus the process of assimilation is twofold; there must be a social predisposition on the part of the guest people and there must be an answering response on the part of the host nation. The English nation is noted for its assimilative powers; it has absorbed, at one time or another, nationals from all the countries of Europe. Some nationals are easier of absorption than others; the Welsh and the Scottish are less resistant than the Irish or the Italians. A nation destitute of the power to assimilate would be in the position of a man whose flesh had lost the power to heal; in him

every wound would remain an open sore; in a nation every batch of immigrants would persist as "foreign bodies."

The Jewish people or nation differs from all the other great nations of the world in that their sense of unity is not based on territory; they are bound into a nation by a live "consciousness of kind," by a long and continuous tradition, and by a faith which is nationalistic as well as religious. Their sense of nationality is thus mobile; wherever they go it goes with them. The sense of nationality based on territory is, as we have just seen, plastic and mouldable. It is otherwise with the Jew's feeling of separateness; it is adamant or nearly so; it is weather-proof, and has brought its people through twenty-five centuries of storm. The mobile and resistant qualities of their nationalism have enabled the Jews to do an unparalleled thing—to make a peaceful and deep penetration of all territorial nations. There is scarcely a town of any size in Europe, Western Asia, North Africa, or in the New World that has not got its synagogue and its segregated Jewish community. Thus Jews differ from other nations in being destitute of a homeland and in having their population not massed in a single area, but scattered in many thousands of semi-isolated groups. We have seen that (p. 372) the Welsh and Irish, as nations, fear cultural assimilation with England. The fear of the Jews goes deeper than that—they fear the absorption and death of their nation by its disappearance in the common sea of humanity.

Many authorities, both Gentile and Jewish, hesitate to regard the Jews as a nation. My friend the late Philip Magnus¹ voiced the opinion of many English Jews when he wrote: "They are a religious body with precisely the same loyalties and duties to the State as other religious bodies." Another learned English Jew, Mr. C. G. Montefiore,² maintained that the Jewish people isolated themselves for the sake of their religion and that their object was not the perpetuation of their stock but of their religion. The authors of a report on Nationalism³ give the Jews the status of "a distinct ethnic group with group consciousness" and as forming a nation in a spiritual sense. The *Jewish Encyclopaedia* (1901) admits that the Jews *were* a nation, but are now "a religious congregation." "The Jews," said Mr. Lucien Wolf in 1904, "are a religious body perfected by intermarriage." These discrepancies of opinion may be explained by the fact that Judaism, like most early religions, was designed for the welfare and survival of the

tribe or group; Judaism dictates moral, social, political behaviour as well as religious observances. "The religion of Moses," wrote Gibbon,⁴ "seems to be instituted for a particular country as well as for a single nation." Judaism is national in its purport. The Romans were in no doubt about the matter; "the Jews were a nation; the Christians (recruited from many nations) were a sect."⁵ "The Jews," wrote Kastein, "are a nation on the march, determined, earnest, and fully prepared to make sacrifices."⁶

I have been at some pains to establish the right of the Jews to consider themselves as a nation. If a nation then, in the original meaning of the term, they are also a race (see Essay XXXII). The term "race" made one of its earlier appearances as a designation of the Jews. In 1570 this phrase appeared in print: "The race and stock of Abraham."⁷ The Bishop of Norwich has written: "The history itself (the Old Testament) is the incomplete story of a small race." Thus, if I am in error in speaking of the Jews as a race, I have a precedent and am in good company. Nearly all my anthropological colleagues, in England, on the continent, and in America take a zoological view of race (see p. 323), and believe that race should be distinguished only by external markings, whereas I hold that the primary marks of race are psychological. Jews have all the psychological characteristics of race. They are exclusive, highly conscious of similarity among themselves and of being different from all other peoples; they maintain inbreeding communities; they willingly sacrifice their lives to perpetuate their kind; they are a chosen, separated people who have been entrusted with a divine mission. According to Kalergi,⁸ exclusiveness, fanaticism, and intolerance are essential elements of Judaism; all these are racial qualities. Professor Hankins⁹ has observed that "the Jews have all the other marks of nationality and also a highly developed race consciousness, a sense of racial superiority and even of racial purity." Dr. Bram¹⁰ assured the New York Academy of Science during its session of 1944 that "the tendency to consider the Jews as a race or sub-race rather than a religious or cultural minority has been gathering strength since the end of last century." That may be true of America; it is certainly not true of Britain.¹¹ Yet Dr. Bram, had he been so inclined, could have claimed support from Professor Ruppin of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who has used the term "race" as applicable to the Jews, explaining that he employs the

term "not in an anthropological sense . . . but to express ethnic homogeneity possessed by people through descent, tradition, and common interest." ¹² Professor Ruppin and I agree that the Jews are a race in the original sense of that term.

I have stressed the racial mental traits of the Jews; but even if we classify by external marks, which is the zoologist's way, the Jews still have claims to a racial status. The most sensitive means of distinguishing one race from another is by sight and ear. Weissenberg,¹³ who was an anthropologist as well as a Jew, asserted that Russians could identify fifty per cent of Jews by their appearance, and that Russian Jews could and did make correct identifications of each other in seventy per cent of cases. My own experience in British communities leads me to believe I can make about forty per cent of correct identifications, but I have also to admit that I have mistaken about five per cent of people as Jews who turned out to have no Jewish blood in them. Dahlberg,¹⁴ the Swedish biologist, assessed the difference between European Jews and Gentiles as being of the same degree as that which separates Swedes from Spaniards. My friend Dr. R. N. Salaman,¹⁵ who is a man of science and also a Jew, said of the south European Jew, the Sephardim, that "the great majority may be recognized as Jews by their appearance." Thus, whether we use the term race as the zoologist uses it, or in its original sense, the Jews are to be regarded as a race.

The first problem is this—to discover when and where the Jews came by their sense of race, a sense so strong that it needs no territorial support. Our main source of information is, of course, the Old Testament. The Bible and modern anthropology are at one as regards the original homeland of the Jews. Abram was a Syrian, a derivative of the pioneer people who laid the foundations of civilization in Babylonia (see Essay XXIX). We must note that the Abramic tribe was an inbreeding stock; Abram married his half-sister, Nahor a niece, Isaac and Jacob, cousins. Later, however, when the descendants of Abram had their abode in the extreme south of Palestine, assimilation became a danger. We note, in particular, that Judah, on whom we must keep a watchful eye, "married native," and so did his son.

The biblical historian leaves unexplained several important matters relating to the sojourn of the Children of Israel in Egypt. He was oblivious to the fact that the Israelites when in Egypt

were the last link in a chain of peoples extending northwards to the west of Jordan as far as Syria. The Medianites, the Amalekites, the Edomites, the Moabites, and the Ammonites represented links in that chain; all spoke dialects of the same tongue as the Israelites; Israel claimed relationship with all of them. It seems probable, then, that the Israelites entered Egypt, not as members of a single family, but as self-contained people. Arab tribes still settle on the outskirts of the Egyptian delta and after a stay, move off. The Israelites after a prolonged sojourn in Egypt, usually estimated at 430 years, again became a desert people. Garstang's excavations at Jericho¹⁷ revealed evidence of their crossing the Jordan and their conquest of the uplands of Palestine at a date which he has fixed at 1400 B.C. The same authority estimates, and I agree with him, that the children of Israel, when they entered Palestine, could not have numbered more than six or seven thousand souls, and that Joshua's fighting force could scarcely have exceeded one thousand men. The native population of Palestine, when Joshua invaded it, was arranged in small independent States, a cluster of "parish races." The historian of the conquest enumerates (Joshua, Chap. 12) thirty-one such States which fell to the valour of Israelitish arms. Seeing that the total area of Palestine measures only 10,000 square miles, one fifth the size of England, and that little more than half of it is fit for human habitation, it will be realized how small these native States really were. Readers will also perceive how limited were the territories allotted to the twelve tribes.

The Israelites, when they took up their abode in Palestine, formed a confederation of tribes; to become a nation they had to undergo the process of detribalization. That was accomplished under Saul, David, and Solomon, broadly speaking, between 1050-950 B.C. The tribe of Judah took the leading part in bringing about these tribal changes and in the establishment of a central government. Seeing that the Jews sprang from the loins of Judah we must give that tribe our particular attention. Its territory measured about 2,500 square miles, being of about the same area as the county of Devon; half of its land was mountainous or desert; at the height of their power and prosperity the Judæans could never have numbered more than half a million. The land of Judah provided Palestine with its Kings, Priests, and Prophets; its Children were stubborn, stiff-necked, and fanatical.

The first major misfortune to befall the people of Judah was the breakaway or secession from them of the ten northern tribes (935 B.C.). Two centuries later (738-721 B.C.) the Children of Judah saw the ten tribes carried into captivity by the King of Assyria and the land planted with strangers. Little more than a century elapsed before the Judæans found themselves in the same plight; they were, for the greater part, transported as captives to Babylonia (597-582 B.C.). Under conditions of captivity the Children of Judah proved themselves to be made of a sterner and more obstinate mentality than their brethren of the northern kingdom. The Israelites of the north melted away in the foreign population amid which they were planted; they were assimilated and disappeared, as a separate people. The southern people (we may now speak of them as Jews) maintained their identity among the Babylonians; they retained their speech and their customs; they cultivated their religion in order to preserve their race and maintained their race so that their religion might remain pure and uncontaminated. A consciousness of being a separate and chosen people, as well as a singular sense of race, enabled the Jews to stand up to and resist the strong and seductive assimilative power of their Babylonian host. At a later date, when they became denizens of every part of the Persian Empire, their sense of race preserved them as a people. The Greeks, the Romans, the Egyptians warred against their racial stubbornness, but in vain.

Here, then, we have a record of an event which is almost unique in human evolution—the record of the rise of a race of a new kind. The race was generated and matured in that confined area of Palestine allotted to the tribe of Judah. The tribe was inbred, but inbreeding alone will not account for the development of a particular form of mentality. There must have been, in the original composition of the tribe, men and women rich in feelings, passions, and predispositions. The kind of mentality I am attributing to the early Judæans is exemplified by that of Nehemiah, cup-bearer to the King of Persia in the palace at Shushan about the year 446 B.C. His friends had brought him sad news as to the state of Jerusalem. "And it came to pass when I heard these words that I sat down and wept, and mourned certain days, and fasted, and prayed before the God of Heaven."¹⁷ The man who behaves thus is not of ordinary build; such men hate to

excess, just as they love to excess. Nehemiah's passion for his own people is undeniable.

In his original home, the Jew was a farmer; he had his fields of wheat and of barley; he dressed his vines; but the farmer was also a town-dweller. When he spread abroad he chose towns for his home, because only in towns could he live in communities of his own kind, and so be protected from the assimilative power of his host-nation. But how did he gain his ascendancy in trade? A modern instance from Spanish Morocco¹⁸ helps to explain how he became trader and money-changer. A market sprang up on the frontier where the territories of several tribes met and where barter exchanges were made. At first a few Jews attended these markets, bringing footwear and ready-made garments to be exchanged for goods. The tribesmen welcomed them, for they despised both trade and trader. Business passed more and more into the hands of the Moroccan Jews; they introduced the use of money and became money-changers and bankers. In some such way the Jews became traders in the lands of their adoption. In Abram's time trade between Syria and Egypt was in the hands of Semitic peoples;¹⁹ in ancient and in medieval times Arab tribes were transporters and sellers of goods.

Two other peoples—the Armenians and Parsis, who share the isolating racial mentality of the Jew—also took to trade in the period of their dispersion. The Armenian is regarded as an Aryan and the Jew as a Semite, but they have so many traits of body and of mind in common that the anthropologist, to account for these resemblances, feels compelled to trace both back to that highly endowed stock, the pioneer founders of Mesopotamian civilization. I agree with the following statement which Dr. L. W. Parr²⁰ has made regarding the racial traits of the Armenians: "They possess a high degree of racial unity, characterized by social and economical traits, even more typical of them than their physique or blood-type." The mentality of the Parsis, on the other hand, cannot be attributed to an inheritance from Mesopotamia; they were Persians of Aryan origin, devout believers in the creed of Zoroaster, which, like the religion of the Jews, served a national as well as a religious purpose. With the Mohammedan conquest of Persia (641 A.D.) the more devout, the more zealous and fanatical fled from their homes and made their way to India, ultimately establishing separate communities in the towns and cities of

Bombay.²¹ They took to trade, maintained their identity, set up flourishing communities throughout India, and spread into neighbouring lands. With the Parsis, as with the Jews, religion and race are inseparable.

The date usually given for the final expulsion of Jews from Palestine is 135 A.D., when Hadrian laid Jerusalem in ruins and made Judæa a wilderness. But as we have seen, captive Jews effected settlements in Babylonia in the sixth century B.C., and many preferred to remain there rather than return to Palestine. In the fifth century B.C. they had spread throughout the wide realms of the Persian Empire, where anti-Semitism raised its hoary head for the first time. In the third century Greek colonies in Asia Minor gave them an approach to the West and to the trading ports of the Black Sea; in the same century they had settled in their thousands in Alexandria and in other towns of Egypt. The Roman Empire provided them with an open road to the heart of Europe; in the second century B.C. they reached Rome and Italy. Graetz,²² the Jewish historian, states that "there was not a corner of Rome or of Parthia that was without its synagogue and its Jewish community" by the middle of the first century A.D. He estimates that by that time there were 10,000 Jews in Damascus and a million in Egypt! Thus it will be seen that Jews were seeking homes in the established communities of strangers long before Hadrian finally wrecked their homeland. By the third century A.D. they had reached the valley of the Rhine; the eighth century found them in Poland and Western Russia. "A cruel destiny," writes Graetz,²³ "seemed to be ever thrusting them away from their central home . . . the work of God." It was a destiny to which they were particularly well fitted by reason of their mental equipment.

It is often said, and truly said, that the Jews are not a race but an amalgam of many races, so diverse are their physical types. The Sephardim or southern Jews are mostly long-headed and dark-haired; the northern Jews are, for the greater part, round-headed and usually light brown or ruddy in their hair colouring. How are we to account for these differences if all are from the same Judaic stocks? No doubt the early Jews made proselytes; by occasional marriage, both early and late, Jews incorporated genes from the peoples among whom they lived; in this way some of their physical traits may be explained. But selective agencies were

also at work as they formed community after community. We have seen (Essay XXII) that when a group or tribe divides, the new group or tribe differs from the old in its genetic potentialities. When an early Jewish community gave off a band of pioneers to form a community in a neighbouring town, the pioneers differed in certain qualities from the parent community; when this new community proceeded to form a third, the third differed still more from the parent community. It is probable that the Jews who reached Poland from the Rhine basin represented a twentieth, or even a thirtieth, remove or transplant from the parent colony on the Rhine. Thus we expect that the Jews which are farthest from the centre of distribution should show the greatest departures from the type of Judæa.

The evolutionary process to which the Jews have been subjected has been centred, not on their bodily features, but on their mental equipment. The one essential mental attribute which the Jew must possess is a living sense of being linked to his own community and of being separated from those of the Gentiles; without this sense he would drown in the Gentile sea. Consider for a moment the temptations to which the Jews have been exposed and the winnowing or selective ordeal they have undergone in the twenty-five centuries which now separate them from their ancestors of the captivity. The Jew has his social qualities quite as well developed as those of the Gentile; he is daily tempted by the social attractions of his host people, and if he is weak, may fall victim to them. The one sin his community will not pardon is apostasy to his creed and race. In spite of the execrations of his community he may fall in love with, and marry, a woman of the Gentiles, and so bring Gentile blood into his race. The mixed progeny of such unions is, in due course, subjected to assimilative seduction of the host people; if the hard racial mentality of the Jew has not been inherited, then such progeny will be reabsorbed by the Gentiles, and thus eliminated from the race. For eighty generations the Jews have been subjected to this merciless process of psychological selection; unless their racial sense remains firm they go down in the Gentile sea. Instead of weakening, the Jewish feeling of separateness seems to grow stronger as time goes on. Among the Gentiles a sense of nationalism is also becoming more aggressive.

I have had occasion to cite the mentality of Nehemiah as

typical of the Jew. It will further my argument if I now quote his condemnation of mixed marriages. "In these days also I saw Jews who had married wives of Ashdod, of Ammon, and of Moab. And their children spoke half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews' language. And I contended with them and cursed them and smote certain of them."²⁴ It was Ezra's conviction that these foreign marriages brought "the fierce wrath of God" on the chosen people.²⁵

The more that Gentile nations emancipated their Jewish citizens—the more they extended to them civil, social, and religious freedom—the greater was the number of Jews who fell victim to the process of assimilation. On the other hand, the more they were discriminated against—the fiercer the prosecution and the more the anti-Semitic spirit became rampant—the closer became their ranks and the more defiant their spirit. Jews who had become indifferent to their religion or had abandoned it, and were on the point of giving up the Semitic struggle, rallied to their race when it was threatened by a crisis. I will call but one Jewish witness in support of this. In his last testament, which the French philosopher Bergson drew up in 1937, when anti-Semitism was at its height in Germany, he inserted this explanatory clause: "My reflections lead me closer and closer to Catholicism, in which I see the fulfilment of Judaism. I would have become a convert had I not foreseen the formidable wave of anti-Semitism. . . . I wanted to remain among those who to-morrow will be persecuted."²⁷ Such is the racial spirit of the Jew; it quails at nothing.

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THE JEWS AS A NATION AND AS A RACE

(continued)

ANTI-SEMITISM: ZIONISM

Synopsis.—Evolution applied to the elucidation of Jewish history. Evolving groups must be isolated. The root from which anti-Semitism arose. The antiquity and persistence of anti-Semitism. Its relationship to nationalism and to density of the Jewish population. With free intermarriage of Gentile and Jew anti-Semitism would disappear. It has been attributed to the religion of the Jews. Anti-Semitism considered from an anthropological point of view. It is a particular form of racialism. Closed societies evoke antagonisms. Jews have a racial "blind spot." Most hold that anti-Semitism is purely a Gentile problem, but there are exceptions. Jewish conduct is based on a dual code. Professional anthropologists have misled both Gentile and Jew in the matter of race. Zionism: its aims and aspirations. How the co-operation of the British Government was enlisted. Riots in Palestine between Arabs and Jews. The Arabs come to regard the British as their chief enemy and begin a war of independence. They were placated in 1939 by a limitation in the number of Jews admitted to Palestine. The Jews then became the open enemies of the British forces in Palestine and began a campaign of terrorism. The British mandate had two irreconcilable objectives and proved unworkable. In the author's opinion the only way out of the Palestinian dilemma is for both Jew and Briton to abandon the scheme of an exclusive national home.

THE brevity with which I have dealt with the Jews in the preceding essay may lead my readers to think that I have but a superficial acquaintance with their history and character. I hasten to state that this really is not the case; for over half a century I have had opportunities of studying them at close quarters; for thirty years I have been collecting data relating to them and reading their

histories, of which there is no lack.¹ My object is not to add a chapter to the history of the Jews, but simply to show that the theory of human evolution which has been expounded in the earlier essays of this book helps us to understand the origin of the Jews as a separate people, and of the evil fate that has dogged them at every phase of their long history. There are two factors essential to my theory—first, human evolution is carried on by group contending with group; second, groups are kept apart and isolated by their mutual antagonisms or aversions. Isolation is a condition which must be preserved if a group is to evolve. It is to the dislike or animosity which separates evolving groups that I attribute the evil feelings which are so apt to arise in Gentile nations towards their guest communities of Jews, an antagonism which constitutes the scourge of the modern civilized world known as anti-Semitism.

The earliest record of anti-Semitism is that preserved in the Book of Esther,² and attributed to the end of the sixth century B.C. :—

“ And Haman said to king Abasuerus, There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the people of all provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from all people; neither keep they the king's laws; therefore it is not for the king's profit to suffer them. If it please the king, let it be written that they may be destroyed.”

Such, then, is the first record of anti-Semitism and of the first Hitler, for Haman, in ancient Persia, cast himself for the inhuman part so fully filled by Hitler in modern Germany. Between the time of Haman and that of Hitler, the Jews have never enjoyed ease or peace in any country for a long period.³ As Renan has said, “ Anti-Semitism repeats itself everywhere and at all times.” England, in recent centuries so tolerant towards the Jews, was not always so; there were massacres in London and York before she expelled the Jews in 1290; the same may be said of France, from which Jews were banished in 1306. England and France in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries still retained barbarous traits in their mentality, and were therefore more liable to racial outbursts than at later and more educated periods. We must remember, however, that it was in these earlier centuries that the English and the French were beginning to be national-minded;

it is to nationalism, rather than to a low state of civilization or to a religious antipathy, that I attribute the earlier manifestations of anti-Semitism in Western Europe. In the twentieth century the people of Germany were both educated and civilized, yet among them a feeling against the Jews reached a new depth of infamy and cruelty. The German sense of nationality had been blown into a white heat by the breath of their fanatical leader, for Hitler was a naked nationalist, racist, and evolutionist. Again, it is held by many that anti-Semitism is most liable to break out where Jews are most densely planted. In Poland, for example, where in 1939 there were 3.3 million Jews, forming ten per cent of the population, anti-Semitism was endemic. It cannot be altogether a matter of density, for in the city of New York Jews now form nearly twenty per cent of the population, and yet the city is free from organized outbreaks of anti-Semitism.

There is a great diversity of opinion as to the origin and nature of anti-Semitism, but on one point both Gentile and Jewish authorities are in agreement—namely, that it would disappear with free inter-marriage between Jews and Gentile. In this simple way the Jew could gain the liberties he so longs for, but in a way that he has rejected in all ages with scorn. He is infuriated by the mere suggestion of inter-marriage as a cure.⁴ Namier regards "assimilation as a confession of inferiority."⁵ In my reading I have come across no instance of a Jewish community surrendering itself voluntarily to marriage with Gentiles; the fear of assimilation is deeply rooted in Jewish nature. The religious-minded Jew explains that his fear of assimilation and his desire to perpetuate his kind are an expression of his resolve to preserve his faith and so to fulfil his divine mission. In this view anti-Semitism is the price he pays, not for his race, but for his religion.

A layman informed the readers of *The Times* (Aug. 23, 1934) that anti-Semitism "was explicable on religious, historical, and emotional, but not on anthropological terms." It is just on anthropological terms that I am seeking to explain this social disorder; if we are to effect a cure, our first care must be to make a correct diagnosis. We have seen (Essay XXXV) that racialism springs into being whenever two races become intermingled in the same territory; anti-Semitism comes into being under the same conditions; it is a particular species of racialism. Another mark of its racial nature is that it is collective in its action; anti-

Semites blame a community for the misdeeds of one of its individual members. Anti-Semitism, like all forms of racialism, is not inborn; it is acquired; but its emotional and mental substrate is inborn (see p. 360). Racial feelings, once aroused, are capable of unspeakable atrocities.

"One does not have to be an anthropologist," writes my friend Professor Hooton of Harvard,⁶ "to realize that any group which is physically and socially distinct, is sure to arouse envy and hatred amongst outsiders." Franz Boas,⁷ a distinguished Jewish anthropologist, regarded racialism as "the antagonism which is evoked by a closed society." Jewish communities are certainly closed societies, but, then, so are the thousands of castes which live side by side in India without open strife. It is only when enclosed or exclusive societies are different in their racial composition that warring passions are awakened. Professor Fleure⁸ came near the truth when he wrote, "Group consciousness resents what it cannot assimilate." "But that which most vehemently enraged and irritated a Græco-Roman world against the Jews," remarked Coudenhove Kalergi,⁹ "was that impenetrable wall of separation which the latter had raised between themselves and non-Jews, and this they had done only because their law compelled them to." That, I think, is a fairly accurate description, written by a friendly pen, of the mental rampart with which the Jews have surrounded themselves to prevent absorption. Sacchar,¹⁰ writing in 1934 of the three million Jews in Russia, says this of them: "Apparently unassimilable, hard as steel, stubborn as death . . . a huge bone in the gullet of nationalism." What has happened to the Jews of Russia since that passage was written by Sacchar, I do not know, but it is hard to believe that even the Soviet technique has succeeded in bringing about their assimilation. To fill out my account of the Jew's attitude towards his Gentile surroundings I am to cite the evidence of a learned Jew, that of Professor L. B. Namier:¹¹ "But so long as the Jews remain a cohesive self-contained community, with a consciousness and national pride of their own, they preserve their strength and their vitality."

Perhaps the most outstanding of the mental characteristics associated with race is an inability to see things from the point of view of an opposing people. All beliefs that a man entertains regarding his nation or his race are of the nature of convictions, so fixed in his consciousness that they remain unquestioned and are

regarded by him as unquestionable. The Jew is genuinely puzzled to account for the Gentile's attitude towards him. Sometimes he attributes it to a jealousy of the success which attends the endeavours of a large proportion of Jews in the higher vocations of life; the cruelty of the Gentile he is apt to attribute to a sadistic nature and a need for scapegoats. Very rarely does he ask the question: "Why are my people objects of antipathy to so many Gentiles?" Josef Kastein¹² explains this omission: "The Jew never turned to his enemy to ask, Why do you treat me thus? He turned to the highest court of appeal and there asked, Why do you send me this?" Later in his book¹³ he adds: "Let us remember the great teaching of our history, that anti-Semitism is not a Jewish but a foreign problem." Almost the first sentence in Mr. Louis Golding's book¹⁴ is "Anti-Semitism is not a Jewish but a Gentile problem." A distinguished Jew in a letter to me wrote: "You may see, therefore, that the cause of this aloofness does not lie with the Jews but with the people among whom they live." Professor Hooton¹⁵ does not share this point of view. "I am inclined to doubt," he said, "that the priority of antipathy and of the exclusive tendency lies with the non-Jews." The Gentile, it must be confessed, has racial corns; when tramped on he cries out. It is usual to blame, not the victim tramped on, but the trampler. Those who support the Jewish attitude will rejoin: "Let the Gentile cure himself of his racial corns." For two thousand years the Gentile world has been seeking for a cure and has failed to find one.

The outlook in the relation of Jew to Gentile would indeed be dark were it not that there are Jews who succeed in seeing things from the Gentile's point of view. In the *Jewish Chronicle* (Aug. 10, 1934, p. 9) there appeared a letter from which the following passages are taken: "Clearly it is not true that Jewish misfortunes arise only from intolerance and all that the Jews have to do is to 'sit tight and pretty' and allow the various governments to stamp out the anti-Semitic spirit. The Jewish problem is not solely for government; Jews have their own share to take."

Another mark of race possessed by the Jews must be mentioned. Their conduct is regulated by a "dual code"; their conduct towards their fellows is based on one code (amity), and that towards all who are outside their circle on another (enmity). The use of the dual code, as we have seen (p. 63), is a mark of

an evolving race. My deliberate opinion is that racial characters are more strongly developed in the Jews than in any other Caucasian people. Anti-Semitism, then, is but an ugly and virulent form of racialism.

My anthropological colleagues, under the spell of ethical ideals, have done Gentiles and Jews an ill-service by giving euphonious names to vulgar things. They have assured the Jews that they are not a race but only an "ethnic group" kept together by having a religion in common. They also have assured all the other Caucasian peoples that they are raceless, and that hence all the animosity which arises between Gentile and Jew is an artificially fomented form of hysteria. With the best intentions in the world, professional anthropologists have succeeded in hiding from the world the nature of its running sores. If these sores are to be cured, they must be exposed freely to the surgeon's scrutiny, and have their proper names given to them.

We now proceed to consider the racial aspects of a Jewish scheme which was initiated in the latter half of the nineteenth century under the name of Zionism. Nehemiah's dream of a Jerusalem with a restored Zion in its midst is one which still grips the imagination of many modern Jews. Zionism was, in its opening phase, a movement which sought for the realization of this ideal. The appeal was strengthened by certain other considerations. In a land of their own the fear of assimilation would vanish; Jews would be in a position to abandon their acquired Gentile tongues and be free to revive and converse in their own original tongue—Hebrew, which has been a dead language for twenty-five centuries. In a land of their own they could preserve and practise their religion, and observe their customs; they could develop their culture in all its forms. Above all, a sovereign independence would permit them to work out their separate racial destiny. They would again have a national home.

In 1917 the British Cabinet, wishing to acknowledge a signal service rendered to the war by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, asked him what form their award should take. He explained that he desired neither money nor honours; he would feel amply repaid if the British Government would favour the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine. This scheme made an especial appeal to one member of the Cabinet—Mr. A. J. Balfour, afterwards the first Lord Balfour (1848–1930). Mr. Balfour was a

statesman of the highest order, with a subtle and religious mind steeped in philosophy, who regarded the maintenance of law and order as the first duty of a government. If racial inequalities were met with, they were to be ironed out with a firm hand. Mr. Lloyd George favoured Dr. Weizmann's appeal; so did Mr. Winston Churchill. In this way the British Government found itself added to the Zionist train.

In 1922 Britain was formally entrusted by the League of Nations with the government of Palestine. In its mandate there were two provisions: (1) the establishment of a home for the Jews in Palestine to be facilitated; (2) the rights and position of the then occupants of Palestine to be safeguarded. Thus Britain undertook obligations to two peoples, the Jews and the Arabs of Palestine. It promised to make them co-occupants of the same small land.

Palestine measures only a little over 9,000 square miles, and nearly half of these miles are barren. Even if cultivated to the highest point possible, the land could not carry a population greater than a million and a half. In 1920 there were about fifteen million Jews in the world; "the promised land" could provide a home for only a fraction of that number. At that date Palestine provided a home for 673,000 Arabs and 67,000 Jews, the Jews thus forming only ten per cent of the population. The Palestinian Arabs, during the 1,300 years of their occupancy, had never formed a separate people; like their brothers in the vast deserts of Arabia, they were tribal in their organization and tribal in their mentality. A common danger drew the Palestinian Arabs together and gave them the unity and strength of a nation. In Britain's promise to provide a home for the Jews the Arabs saw a threat to their homes, to their ways of life, and to their existence as a people. Their feelings led to a riotous outburst against the Jews in 1920-21; the conflagration which broke out in 1929 between Moslems and Jews over access to the "wailing wall" was a more serious and bloody affair. In the early thirties Arab enmity was changing in its objective; it became directed as much, or even more, against the British as against the Jews. By 1936 Arab nationalism had been aroused; the Arabs began a war of liberation, a war for the independence of Palestine. "A few armed men in the hills," reported *The Times* (Oct. 5, 1938), "have become a united Arab people. The sheik has become a holy warrior; the schoolmaster has turned propagandist; a new

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level of insecurity has been reached." The division of the country into Arab and Jewish States, recommended to the British Government in 1937 by the Peel Commission, pleased the Arab as little as it did the Jew. From 1936 to 1939 were "black murderous days";¹⁶ the Jews feared they might be driven into the sea and the Arabs that they or their children would have to seek refuge in the desert. In 1939 the British Government succeeded in temporarily placating the national aspiration of the Arabs by limiting the yearly admission of Jews to 10,000 for a period. It now began to be realized that there was "a stark contradiction between Arab aspirations and Britain's obligations to the Jews."

In the opening years of the war (1939-45) there was a lull in Palestinian strife. At this time (1942) it was found that the population of Palestine had increased from 740,000 in 1920 to 1,620,000; Arabs, who numbered 673,000 in 1920, now totalled 1,156,000; the Jews had risen from 67,000 to 484,000. With this great addition to their number the policy of the Jews became more aggressive. They demanded that the British should carry out their mandate, that Jews should be given unlimited access to Palestine, and that 100,000 should be admitted at once. "The Jewish nation," said Bagehot, "won by law, not by war." On this occasion, their demands having been refused, the Jews threw law to the winds and resorted to force applied diabolically and with ingenuity. The British found themselves in the same position in Palestine as the Romans had done twenty centuries earlier. The Jews fought with the same fanaticism and ferocity for the recovery of Palestine as their forefathers had done in Roman and in Maccabean times for the liberation of their country. The sixteen million Jews scattered through the world, particularly those of the United States, were on their side. Nor were the Arabs forgotten by their kinsmen; the fourteen million Arabs living in Arabia, Iraq, and Syria leagued themselves in support of the Palestinians; so did the Egyptians. But no nation rallied to aid the British. The opposite was the case; the United States requested that Britain should give 100,000 Jews immediate admission.

In 1946 a commission of twelve members, six representing the United States and six Great Britain, was sent to Palestine to examine and report on the state of things in that country. The commission reported (*The Times*, May 1, 1946) that it had found

Palestine to be "an armed camp"; it expressed the opinion that "the whole world shares responsibility for the displaced Jews of Europe," and asked that 100,000 of them should be admitted forthwith. That the Palestinian Arabs should be made to pay the world's debt did not seem unfair to the commission, as it held that "Palestine belongs neither to Jew, nor to Arab, but to the religious world." Seeing that the "religious world" had left the Arab in possession for thirteen centuries, its claim may well be questioned. The commission's chief recommendation was that Palestine should "remain under mandatory or U.N.O. control until Arab and Jew are agreed to live in peace together," and that they "were to be made to understand that the programme proposed will be imposed and continued under duress." The anthropologist sees a disastrous future for Palestine if that recommendation is adopted as a policy. There has been a mandatory Power in Palestine for wellnigh thirty years; the British taxpayer has spent upwards of £100,000,000 in maintaining it; and under it things have ever moved from bad to worse. No power on earth will suppress the resolution and raciality of the Jews.

In 1930 Judge Lofgren of Sweden said a true thing of the mandate with which Britain had been entrusted; it bound her to carry out two objects which were irreconcilable. She undertook to provide a home for Jews in Palestine and, at the same time, to do no wrong to the Arab population. She thought that one small land could be made a home for two racially minded incompatible peoples. She has now (1947) discovered her mistake. What, then, is Britain to do? It is usually counted for wisdom, when a mistake has been made, to acknowledge it and to make reparations for wrongs done. The British Cabinet of 1917 was not alone in being mistaken. The Zionists also misjudged the situation; they were blind to the rights of the Palestinian Arabs; they believed that the wealth, prosperity, and culture they would bring into Palestine would cause Arabs to throw their doors widely open for their entry. These expectations have proved to be disastrous miscalculations. The present critical situation in Palestine gives the Jews in general, and the Zionists in particular, an opportunity of making an unprecedentedly generous gesture to humanity, all the world over; to abandon their resolve to become the dominant power in Palestine, to acknowledge the lawful possession of that land by the Arabs who are native to it; to cease

in demanding the mandatory "pound-of-flesh" from Britain, for ultimately it has to be cut from the living Arab; and to make terms with the Palestinians for all the rights and privileges which can be enjoyed by a guest people. The only alternative that I can see is a bloody and prolonged war. If I am mistaken in these suggestions, the future will speedily find me out. At least, such is the position of matters in 1947 as seen through the eyes of an anthropologist.

Postscript. November 29, 1947.

To-day the United Nations Organization decided to divide Palestine into Jewish and Arab States. The Jews accept this decision; the Arabs reject it. The British Government has announced that it brings its mandate in Palestine to an end on May 15, 1948.

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⁴ Hooton, E. A., *Twilight of Man*, 1939, pp. 247-9.

⁵ Namier, L. B., *Conflict Studies in Contemporary History*, 1942, p. 126.

⁶ Hooton, E. A., see reference 4, p. 246.

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¹⁰ Sacchar, A. L., *A History of the Jews*, 1934, p. 322.

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¹² Kastein, Josef, *Jews in Germany*, 1934, p. 14.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

¹⁴ Golding, Louis, *The Jewish Problem*, 1938.

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NATION-BUILDING ON A CONTINENTAL SCALE

Synopsis.—The people of the United States of America considered as a nation and compared to the nations of Europe. The need for another name for the "American" nation. The colonization of the United States by the English compared with the colonization of England by the Anglo-Saxons. Two traditions and ways of life were established by the English colonists in America. The New England tradition held in the North, the Virginian in the South. Assimilation as a factor in nation-building. The American Revolution interpreted from an anthropologist's point of view. The colonists having won the war had then to win the peace. The Civil War secured the union of the nation. The tide of immigrants. The policy of the United States became isolationist and national after the first world war. The "national" and racial composition of the people of the United States in 1920. The result of Professor Hooton's anthropological investigations. The process of evolution is retarded in large nations. Local evolution. Race-building in the United States. The Negro problem. Anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism compared. The difficulties which attend schemes which seek to model the nations of Europe in the pattern of the United States. Nation- and race-formation are neglected anthropological studies.

THE nations we have dealt with so far—those of Egypt, of Scotland, of Wales, and of Ireland—are of small size and have grown up by the amalgamation of adjacent tribes and peoples. The nation whose rise we are to consider in this essay, that of the United States of America, is of colossal size, numbering in 1946 about 140 million people, and inhabiting an area which is continental in extent, for the territory of the United States measures nearly three million square miles, being only a little less than the continent of Europe. The nations of Europe may be said to have "grown up"; their size and the extent of their territories were

determined in the general struggle for power and for survival. The nation we are now to consider, although it began fortuitously, was developed and grew under a plan devised by the statesmen who framed the constitution of the United States. The "American" nation, besides being planned, differs from European nations in a very important respect: the European nations were formed out of populations native to their territories, whereas the "American" nation has been forged out of an immigrant population. In one point, however, the white population of the United States is in agreement with the nations of Europe; all are of the Caucasian stock. In Europe the stock has been broken up into local national breeds; in America the local breeds of Europe have been reunited. But, as we shall see later, the preponderant affinities of the New Nation are with the peoples of N.W. Europe.

What name are we to give to this new nation? The white people of the United States call themselves "Americans" and are recognized under this name by other nationalities. No doubt that usage will hold fast, but for anthropologists¹ the name has many disadvantages. They need a term to embrace all the peoples of the New World; all are Americans. We want a term which is applicable to only the Caucasian population of the United States. For some years I have used a hieroglyph—"USA'ans"—for this purpose, an ugly improvisation. The pioneer people of New England, who gave the New Nation its basal tradition, came to be known as Yankees—a name now discarded. But if we borrow certain letters from that term and introduce them to my hieroglyph, we get "Yusanians," a name which will serve the temporary purpose of this essay. I shall speak, then, of the Caucasian population of the United States as "Yusanians."

There are certain instructive points of resemblance between the colonization of England by the Anglo-Saxons and the colonization of America by the English. Both set out, not in search of plunder, but of new homes. Both took with them their wives and children; they were prepared for hard work and, if need be, to defend themselves. The Anglo-Saxons began by landing in Kent (449), and continued to arrive for nearly a century and a half, during which time they established seven colonies, each of which grew into a separate State or kingdom. The English settlement along the east coast of America began in Virginia (1606) and may be said to have finished with the establishment of

Georgia (1733). Thirteen colonies had come into existence; they occupied a coastal strip fully 1,000 miles in length. It is noteworthy that the early American colonists were recruited chiefly from the more Saxon counties of England. The Anglo-Saxons had to make voyages of some 300 or 400 miles across a stormy but inland sea, whereas the English had to cross the wide Atlantic. The two colonizations differed in several important respects. The Anglo-Saxons left no parental government behind them on the continent; each colony claimed sovereign independent rights. The English colonists, on the other hand, when settled in their new homes still owed allegiance to the mother country. War made the seven Anglo-Saxon States or kingdoms into one; war made the thirteen English colonies or States into a single confederation. The enemy encountered by the Anglo-Saxons in England were Caucasians, not unlike themselves in a physical sense, whereas the enemy encountered by the English in America were of an unlike stock. A hybrid between Saxon and Celt could not be distinguished from either of the parent stocks, but a hybrid Anglo-Amerind was recognizable at sight. It took the Anglo-Saxons over three centuries to sweep across England; the people of Wales remained as a bulwark between them and the Irish Sea. From the time that the English colonists in America had established a firm belt along the Atlantic sea-board (1650) until the arrival of their descendants on the Pacific slopes, a period of two centuries elapsed. The original inhabitants of the land, numbering about 600,000 and divided into some 300 tribes, were killed or encircled as the Americans swept westward. In the census of 1930 the Amerinds, including half-breeds, numbered 332,000, most of them living on reservations. Thus in the course of three centuries a single Caucasian nation forming forty-eight units or States, and numbering (1946) 127 millions, replaced a conglomeration of Amerind tribes. The Anglo-Saxons and the colonial English shared the same hardy ethical sense; they had one rule of conduct for themselves, and another for the people whose lands they seized. Viscount Bryce, writing in 1911,² was less than just to the Amerinds when he penned the following sentence: "The territory now covered by the United States was, from a political point of view, practically vacant when discovered in the end of the fifteenth century." "A few hunting tribes," wrote Madison Grant,³ "could not be allowed to possess a continent."

In the building up of a new nation the most important and also the most difficult thing is the establishment of a way of life, a way which, as it is handed on from one generation to the next, will become a quickening and guiding tradition. Historians are agreed that the tradition which came to pervade the northern population of the United States was that established in New England by the Puritans, a people who valued their liberties, religious, political, and social, more than worldly success. The Puritan colonists from England began to settle in their new home in 1620; by 1640 there were 20,000 of them with their homes scattered along Massachusetts Bay. They were a people who prized learning, for they brought Harvard University into being in 1636. A century later (1740), when the colonists had reached the million mark, the New Englanders had spread in every direction; they had "settled" the States which lie to the north of Massachusetts and also those which lie to the immediate south of that State, carrying with them and establishing their tradition. The Dutch had set up a trading station on the site of New York and later made settlements there. The Swedes had landed and settled in Delaware (1638); if these Dutch and Swedish colonies had rooted and grown, then there might have been in America the same diversity of tongues and peoples as in Western Europe, for in more distant regions the French and Spaniards had also established stations. The New Englanders, spreading southwards into the State of New York and carrying with them their strong assimilative powers, ultimately absorbed the Dutch as they, in turn, had overwhelmed the Swedes. After the revolution the trek to the North-West Territory was headed by descendants of the New England pioneers.

In the south, in Virginia, another tradition took origin. By 1622 the Virginian colonists numbered 4,000; they had become tobacco-planters and owners of African slaves. Perhaps the warmer climate of the south induced the Virginian colonists to lead an easier and less laborious life than their Puritan brethren of the north. Perhaps it was because the Virginians were recruited from the more leisured and wealthier class of Englishmen. Wealth and slave labour made it possible for them to become the masters of spacious and well-appointed homes. In the north, labour by the sweat of the brow was counted a virtue; in the south it came to be regarded as a virtue only when exercised

by slaves. The southern squire was a man of education and culture with a high sense of public duty. As the early Virginians spread southwards into the Carolinas and Georgia they carried their ideals and modes of life with them. Later, when they moved westwards into the southern States, they succeeded in establishing the Virginian tradition in their new homes. Thus there arose two traditions among the Yusanians, that of New England in the north and that of Virginia in the south. As we shall see later, this twofold cultural heritage initiated the greatest crisis which has so far overtaken the Yusanian nation.

As we have seen (p. 147), one of the most remarkable characters of a nation is its powers of assimilation, its unconscious ability to impart to strangers and to immigrants its mode of life and its traditions. This ability to absorb is often regarded as something superadded to the normal life of a community, but this is not the case. Every generation hands on its tradition to its children who constitute the next generation; every child, as it grows up, undergoes the process of assimilation. A nation is a great school in which tradition is taught from day to day; it is taught in the market-place, in the church, and in the homes. The reciprocal affections of parents and children provide the machinery of assimilation within the home. Indeed, it has been observed that it is the children of immigrants who establish the first bonds linking them to their host nation. Throughout the colonial period, up to the time of the Declaration of Independence (July 4th, 1776), the power of assimilation of New Englanders and of Virginians was not greatly taxed; the flow of immigrants was limited in numbers, and although there was an inflow of Germans from the Rhine Valley, yet the greater number of new arrivals were of British origin. Thus the traditions of New England and of Virginia had time to develop and to undergo consolidation before the westward movement set in.

We come now to the first major event in Yusanian history—the crisis which made the English colonists into a nation. On July 4th, 1776, their Congress declared “that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States.” Historians ascribe this declaration to political blunders made by King George and his Government, but the anthropologist sees in it an evolutionary movement of a kind with which he is familiar—that of self-determination (see p. 366). Political blunders were

the immediate cause of the revolution, but the machinery which gave the nation birth was resident in human nature; sooner or later the "breakaway" would have occurred. At the very time when the colonists were drafting their Declaration, Adam Smith (1723-96) was writing the *Wealth of Nations* and penned the following passage: "To propose that Great Britain should voluntarily give up all authority over her colonies . . . would be to propose such a measure as never was . . . adopted by any nation in the world. . . . Yet to give up would be advantageous. . . . Filial affection would revive."⁴ That is a sane and contemporary view of the situation as measured by a Scot. Along side of it I place the opinion of a modern American professor of history.⁵ "The Revolution itself," writes Professor Connager (1941), was a great creative movement that set in about 1760 and came to a close with the establishment of Federal Government in 1789. The War of Independence was merely part of a larger movement." This "larger movement" was, in my opinion, that of "self-determination"—the act which brings a nation into being.

Having won the war (1783) the colonists had then to win the peace, which proved to be a matter of extreme difficulty. Each of the thirteen colonies had set its mind on being a separate independent State. Their collective population was under four millions, and their combined territory was more than ten times the area of England. Had the individual colonies insisted on retaining what they counted their rights, thirteen separate, warring nations would have come into existence—another Europe. Ultimately (1787) they agreed to federate under a central government. In their constitution there were two provisions which have a direct bearing on nation-making. The first and the most important of these was that no State could secede from the Union unless it had the consent of all the other States. Thus the greatest danger of a federal nation—that of disruption—was provided against. Another measure of no less importance was that which provided for extension of national territory and the creation of additional States. The result of the war between Britain and France (1756-63) opened the way for the colonists to surge westwards. The inhabitants of a new territory whenever they reached the number of 40,000 could claim admission to the Union. The first to claim admission was Vermont (1791), the

last and forty-eighth was Oklahoma (1912). Thus was brought into existence a nation divided into forty-eight States and occupying an area of almost sixty times that of England.

Early in the nineteenth century a humanitarian spirit, spreading throughout civilized lands, led to the freeing of slaves; those of the British colonies were set at liberty in 1833. This spirit moved the northern States, of New England tradition, to demand the abolition of slavery in all the States of the Union. In 1861 the destiny of the nation was placed in the hands of Lincoln. Seven States seceded and were joined by another four; twenty-one States (the total number being then thirty-two) remained loyal to the central or federal government. Lincoln declared war against the seceding States. To keep slaves was not a breach of law; war could not be declared on that score, but secession was a crime against the constitution. Incidentally the Civil War (1861-65) set free some four million people of African origin, but the real object aimed at, and achieved, was the preservation of the nation as a single evolutionary unit. Secession or self-determination of a people in Europe might be commendable, but so far as the United States was concerned it was made the one heinous and unforgivable national sin.

In the Civil War over 360,000 men of the Northern States "gave their lives that their nation might live." Yet such was the resilience of the Yusanians that their numbers, which stood at 31.4 millions in 1860, had risen to 38.5 millions in 1870. In 1840 there were only seventeen millions in the United States, but that exceeded the population of England and Wales of the same date. From 1845 the full immigrant tide of Germans and of Irish set in; before 1914 over five million Germans and over four million Irish had arrived. In the same period some two million Scandinavians had added their genes to the Yusanian pool. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century the immigrant tide from N.W. Europe slackened and that from Central and Southern Europe set in. In the ten years which preceded the first world war seven millions were added, mostly from Central and Southern Europe. From first to last over thirty-eight million Europeans were carried to the American States.

The war of 1914-18 brought the immigrant chapter in the history of the United States to an end and opened a chapter of quite a different kind—that of isolationism. While in the war

a wave of nationalism swept the States; the man was marked who was not 100 per cent American (Yusanian). By the end of the war the mood of the people had changed; they had become more nationally and racially conscious. Isolation, as we have seen, is one of the conditions which is essential for race-building; the Yusanians became isolationists, and by a series of enactments, beginning in 1921 and ending with the application on July 1st, 1928, of the "National Origins" Act, restricted immigration to 150,000 per annum. The population of the United States in 1920 was made the basis on which further admissions were to be made. The quota of immigrants which each foreign nation was permitted to send was determined by the extent to which their nation was represented in the make-up of the 1920 population of the United States. That necessitated an inquiry into the extent of the contribution made by each of the nations of Europe to the 1920 population of the States. This inquiry gave Britain the credit of having contributed, from first to last, her blood or genes to over forty-one per cent of the Yusanian population, which in 1920 numbered nearly ninety-five millions. The share assigned to Germany was sixteen per cent, to Eire eleven per cent, to Scandinavia and the smaller nations of N.W. Europe seven per cent. In this estimate seventy-five per cent of the genes circulating in the new Yusanian nation was attributed to the peoples of N.W. Europe, the remainder coming from Central and Southern nations of Europe. It is one thing to determine the Caucasian assortment of genes with which a new nation sets out; it is a much more difficult matter to forecast what the final issue will be, for certain strains prosper and increase in numbers, while others tend to die out. The "Old American" type of Hrdlicka,⁶ which continues the New England strain, fails to hold its own; all authorities are agreed on that. Thus the strange fact comes to light that while the tradition established in a new nation by its pioneers may continue, the stock or type which introduced it may become submerged or die out.

From 1926 to 1938 Professor Hooton of Harvard⁸ carried out an exact investigation of the population of ten of the States, to determine the racial composition of the Yusanians according to the methods which anthropologists had employed to discriminate the races of Europe (see Essay XXXIII). Of pure Nords he found only 2.4 per cent, but then it must be remembered that in

Sweden,⁹ the most Nordic nation of Europe, this type does not exceed ten per cent; of pure Mediterraneans, 4.4 per cent; of pure round-headed Alpines, 2.7 per cent. The vast majority of people he examined were a mixture of these types or races. In seventy-six per cent of them, however, a Nordic element was recognized; in twenty-four per cent this element was lacking. Thus, whether we trace the Yusanians to their national homes in Europe, or assign them to the racial types of that continent, the result is approximately the same. In its racial composition the Yusanians are most akin to the peoples of N.W. Europe. In keeping with this result is the degree of ease with which the nationals of Europe adapt themselves to the Yusanian way of life. As we proceed from the north-west of Europe towards Asia Minor the resistance to assimilation to the American way of life increases, reaching its maximum in the Greeks and the Jews.

A basal element in the theory maintained in this book is that in the primitive and productive phase of human evolution mankind was arranged in small local groups. How is evolution affected when an area, formerly occupied by hundreds of small isolated groups, becomes the home of a single closely knit unit or nation? In the course of his inquiries Professor Hooton found local evolution to be at work; each State had its own type or types. "The result of my analysis," he wrote,¹⁰ "was to establish the fact that the older American population has differentiated into distinct State physical types." Data collected during the Civil War had suggested the existence of local types. No doubt immigrants tended to go to States and towns already occupied by their fellow-nationals, and new townships "attracted like-minded people" (Bagehot), but these are imperfect explanations. The chief factor in the production of local types or strains is in-breeding; marriages tend to be local. There is, too, as Ripley¹¹ pointed out, "a disposition of distinct types to keep separate and apart" so far as marriage is concerned. Thus the formation of great national units, such as that of the United States, does not bring evolution to an end, but it does clog its wheels.

Some paragraphs back I made the statement that after the first world war the Yusanians turned "racial-minded"; at least their Government accepted, in its immigration policy, the advice of experts who took the same point of view as I do—namely, that nation-building is a species of race-building. In evidence of this

statement let me cite passages from a Report¹² submitted in 1934 to the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York by a Special Committee. Here is the first passage (p. 7): "Thus, in the exercise of its own rights and in the building up of its own human stocks, the receiving nation must exercise its sovereign right to select courageously and radically for the improvement of its own human values in future generations." Another passage (p. 11): "Immigration calls for an attitude as thoroughly American as is necessary in the army, navy, and in the conduct of foreign affairs." A further citation is: "Because America needs no more human seed-stock, she is in a very strong position to set high standards for future immigrants." "Common loyalty," the Report continues (p. 15), "demands that our national policy of population control (must) provide that our human seed-stocks of the future will conserve our best racial stocks." Much similar evidence could be cited from other reliable sources, but the citations given are sufficient to prove that those who are responsible for the immigration policy of the United States are alive to the fact that they are engaged on the most difficult and complex of all human activities—that of race-building. A successful race, like a winning team, must be a workable and balanced combination of all the talents and of all the good qualities inherent in human nature.

The Yusanian nation is faced by a racial problem of great difficulty and also of great magnitude; it has in its midst a people of African origin, which it refuses to assimilate. Writing in 1906 Professor Sumner of Yale made this statement:¹³ "Black and White in the United States of America are now tending to more strict segregation." Writing in 1911 Viscount Bryce,¹⁴ made the following observations: "Negroes are sharply cut off from the Whites by colour and all that colour means. . . . To all southern sentiment inter-marriage is shocking. In eight States it is illegal. The enormous majority, which does not reason, is swayed by a feeling so strong and universal that there seems no chance of its abating." The attitude of the Yusanians to their Negro compatriots has not grown milder since Bryce's time; indeed it has hardened; assimilation as a solution of their Negro problem is rejected out of hand. Consider for a moment what complete assimilation implies. At the time of the Civil War Negroes numbered over four millions; in 1946 they had in-

creased to over thirteen millions constituting one tenth of the population. To ask the Yusanians to become one-tenth Negro is too big a price to expect them to pay for the solution of their Negro problem. How averse they are to such a solution may be seen from the instructions given to the enumerators of the 1930 census.¹⁵ "A person of mixed white and Negro blood," the enumerators are instructed, "should be returned as Negro, no matter how small the percentage of Negro blood." In the case of the Indians (Amerinds) the instructions are: "A person of mixed white and Indian blood should be returned as Indian except where percentage of Indian blood is very small or where he is regarded as white by his community." A touch of Negro blood disqualifies a man from being counted Yusanian, but one with more than a drop of Indian blood is accepted. This discrimination in favour of the Indian may be due to the fact that his racial traits are less obtrusive in the hybrid than are those of the Negro.

Although the Jewish and the Negro problems are both racial in origin, yet they are different in kind. The animosity towards the Jew is due to his antagonism to assimilation; the Negro, on the other hand, is ready and willing to assimilate; the antagonism is on the part of the Whites. The Whites claim a racial superiority, and this claim has been accepted as part of the Negro tradition. For a Negro to marry a White is to go up in the world, but for a White to marry a Negro is to go down in it. The antipathy of the Yusanians towards Negroes is of the same nature as "class-feeling," the feeling which exists between upper and lower classes in the older nations of Europe. Whatever the exact nature of the discrimination of the White towards the Negro may prove to be, there is no doubt that its presence is a disruptive factor in national life. It is for statesmen to devise measures for its control: the business of the anthropologist is not to suggest remedies nor to utter ethical platitudes, but to observe and state his observation without reserve. None of us can get away from the fact that man is a racial-minded animal. He is also a race-building animal.

Although this essay has already exceeded the length I had set to it, there still remain two matters which I wish to touch on. The first relates to the comparison so often made between the forty-eight United States of America and the discordant nations of Europe. Clarence Streit¹⁶ and many other political writers have proposed that the international difficulties of Europe could be

solved by copying the Yusanian federal scheme. Let us look into the difficulties which stand in the way of establishing a federal system in Europe on the American pattern. Bullocks, like human beings, are social in their nature. Bullocks object to "gate-crashing" by strangers. If a farmer wishes to add strangers to his home herd, he moves that herd into a field which is new to them, and then introduces the strangers. Under such conditions the "immigrant" bullocks are soon assimilated. Ripley,¹⁷ the American anthropologist, noted a somewhat similar effect produced on immigrants by the strange environment in which they found themselves on landing. "The subtle effects of change of environment, religious, linguistic, political and social," he noted, "is another powerful influence in breaking down ethnic barriers." Every one of the thirty-eight millions who entered America as immigrants suffered that thawing experience, before they were received by the home-herd and assimilated. In brief, if Europe is to be modelled on American lines, its inhabitants must be put through a mill similar to that which has made the forty-eight States of America into a unity. Nothing less than clearing Europe, and resettling it as America was settled, could give Europe a single tongue and a united front.

The other matter I want to touch on now is one of minor importance. Indeed, it is intended chiefly for the ears of my fellow anthropologists. We have been so engaged in studying the races and peoples which came into existence in bygone ages that we have overlooked events of far greater moment—the coming into existence of new races in the modern world. Race-production is an infinitely more important study than the discrimination of one old race from another. In this essay I have sought to trace the evolution of the largest, the most powerful in war and in peace of all nations (or races), and yet it is the youngest. It takes a European nation five or six centuries for a national spirit to penetrate to all its crannies. The Yusanian nation (and race) dates only from 1920. It was then that it shut the gate for immigrants and started race-building in earnest. What will the Yusanians become after five centuries of national life? Their greatest danger is the old one—that of secession; their numbers are so large and their territory so extensive.

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¹ This difficulty has been felt by Professor Hooton as the following extract from a lecture entitled, "What is an American" will serve to illustrate:—"Americans, for our present purposes, may be divided into four classes: (1) Old Americans; (2) New Americans—both of whom have been born to Americanism; (3) Immigrant Americans who have achieved Americanism; (4) Afro-Americans—or those who had Americanism thrust on them. There are, in addition, Real Americans, but these are called Indians and, of course, do not count." *Amer. Jour. Phys. Anthropol.*, 1936, vol. 22, p. 4.

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THE RISE OF NATIONS IN BRITISH DOMINIONS

Synopsis.—Subject of essay outlined. The early settlement of Canada by the French. A tradition was established. The annexation of Canada by the British. Strife between the French and British Canadians. Union of Lower and Upper Canada. The population of Quebec is eighty per cent French. The French Canadians form a nation. A comparison with the Dutch of South Africa. Two national traditions were established in Canada—French-Canadian and British-Canadian. Early British settlements. The “racial composition” of the British Canadians. The original inhabitants of Canada. The rise of the Australian nation. The aborigines. Their replacement by Caucasians. Early years of settlement. A “white” policy adopted. Lack of an early tradition. Later settlements. The policy of Wakefield. A big tide of emigration sets in. Division into provinces. There is no “British nation” in the homelands, but there is one in Australia. Its “racial” composition. Unsolved problems. The people of New Zealand as a nation. The Maoris. The settlement of New Zealand and establishment of responsible government. The New Zealanders are the purest of British nations. The formation of new nations in “acquired” territories is the principal way in which human evolution is now being effected.

In this essay I am to deal with the nations which have arisen in the four British Dominions. One of these, that of South Africa, has been considered already (Essay XXXV); those which come up for consideration in the present essay are the two nations of Canada—the French Canadian and the British Canadian; the Australian nation; and, most compact and homogeneous of all, that of New Zealand. All of them illustrate the manner in which new peoples and new races come into being in the modern world.

Although the French had prospected the St. Lawrence as early

as 1534, real colonization of the banks of that river did not begin until 1604.¹ In that year ships sailed from Havre carrying the first batch of colonists; among them were squires from Normandy, accompanied by their farming tenants and country families. They carried with them their local form of speech, their French customs and mode of life, and were devoutly religious, almost all being Roman Catholics. The lands they settled are now in the province of Quebec, but they also established themselves in the maritime provinces now known as New Brunswick and Nova Scotia—these two lands being almost equal in area to that of England. The French colonists of 1604 found, as the English pioneers were also to learn, that the testing time of a colony is its opening years. They had their failures and also their successes; they were strengthened by accessions from France which continued to arrive throughout the greater part of the seventeenth century. They called Lower Canada "New France"; they settled closely and firmly established in their midst a strong and distinctive tradition, that which now animates the Canadian French.

The French inhabitants of New Brunswick and of Nova Scotia were known as Acadians; they and their lands (Acadia) were transferred to Britain under the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). Later, when the Seven Years War (1756-63) broke out between France and Britain, they were harshly dealt with by their new masters; many sought new homes in the English Colonies, where they were not easily assimilated. At the end of the Seven Years War Lower Canada with its French population came into the care of the British Government. They then numbered about 60,000,² while at that time the English colonists to the south of Canada numbered about three millions.

In 1774 Britain, being in trouble with her colonists, secured the neutrality of the French Canadians by guaranteeing them their language, their civil laws, and their religion. In tracing the history of the French Canadian nation we shall take a forward leap of sixty-three years, bringing us to 1837. By that time Upper Canada was being settled by colonists of British birth, and strife was brewing between the French and British settlements. Lord Durham was sent out in 1837, and this was what he had to report to his Government: "I expected to find a contest between a government and its people; I found two nations warring in the

bosom of a single State; I found a struggle not of principle, but of Races." As a remedy Lord Durham proposed the Union of Lower and Upper Canada, which was brought about in 1840. Then, in 1867, the French-speaking province of Quebec and the three English-speaking provinces of Ontario, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, were united under a constitution, "similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom." In this way Quebec, the homeland of the French Canadians, became one of the nine provinces which make up the modern Dominion of Canada.

The area of Quebec, as originally constituted, was equal to that of France, but recent extensions towards the cold north has made the province more than twice the size of the mother country. The census of 1941 gave the population of the province as 3,331,000, of which eighty per cent were of French descent and less than nineteen per cent of British origin. In the capital of the province, Montreal, ninety per cent of the population is of French stock.³ Of the 3,483,000 French Canadians, over 600,000 of them live outside their homeland province—in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, and the prairie provinces. These are exposed to the assimilative powers of the British, but within the province of Quebec the power of assimilation lies with the French. The population of that province represents a nation within the framework of the British Commonwealth just in the same sense as Scotland does. It is a separate, inbreeding community, firmly rooted in the soil, conscious of a common spirit and zealous for its own perpetuation. In its political action it is isolationist and "particularist."

It is instructive to compare the early Caucasian settlement of the Dominion of Canada with that of South Africa. The Dutch landed at the Cape in 1652; the British "took over" in 1814; the Dutch were thus in full possession of their territory for 152 years. The French settlement of Canada began in 1604; the British took possession in 1763; the French were thus under their own control for 159 years. In South Africa the British colonists took up their abodes in the midst of the Dutch people, and as we have seen (p. 357) it is the Dutch tradition which prevails, thus making a single nationality possible. In Canada the French settlements were closely knit together; British colonists settled outside the French country, in the two maritime provinces—Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—on the east of Quebec, and

in the inland province or Ontario on the west. Thus two traditions were established in Canada, the French, firmly rooted to the soil, and the British, less localized; in due time each tradition gave birth to a nation.

Canada has an area of 3.4 million square miles, being in this respect only a little smaller than the United States, but only about 1.5 million square miles are suitable for "white" settlement. Of the suitable land over 200,000 square miles is occupied by the French Canadians, thus leaving 1.3 million square miles to provide homes for the British Canadians. In 1941 the British Canadian nation numbered 8,175 millions, there being only about six souls for each square mile of territory; were these square miles to be populated to the same density as the United States now are, the British Canadians would numbersome fifty millions—a formidable nation.

The British Canadian is one of the youngest of nations; it began in 1776 when the loyalists of the United States had to seek a new home. Some 70,000⁴ of these settled in what are now the maritime provinces of Canada, and on lands which were to be included in the province of Ontario. Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century the British Canadians numbered less than a quarter of a million. By the middle of the century they reached the two million mark; ever since then they have steadily increased, till in 1941 they numbered over eight millions. To the three original provinces occupied by the British—Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick—five others have been added—Manitoba (1870), Columbia (1871), Prince Edward Island (1873), and the two prairie provinces (Alberta and Saskatchewan) in 1905.

What is the racial composition of the nation? If we agree that nations represent races, then its racial composition is as follows. Rather more than thirty-six per cent are of English origin; somewhat more than seventeen per cent are of Scottish descent; rather less than sixteen per cent draw their ancestry from Ireland. Thus sixty-nine per cent are of British origin; thirty-one per cent are traceable to seventeen nations of the continent of Europe. Of the continental nationalities in the British provinces the French contribute eight per cent, the Germans just under six per cent, the Russians under five per cent, the Scandinavians three per cent, the Poles two per cent, the Jews (who numbered 170,000 in 1941) rather more than two per cent. Thus the "make up" of

the British-Canadian nation is very similar to that of the United States, the chief points of difference being the proportions of people of British-Irish origin being fifty-three per cent in the United States, while it is sixty-nine per cent in Canada. On the other hand, the German element provided fifteen per cent of the population of the States, but less than six per cent of the Canadian population. In Canada, then, there are two nations of different origins; that of Quebec draws over eighty per cent of its number from France, that of the British provinces sixty-nine per cent from the mother lands. In Great Britain there is a political confederation of three nations, in the Dominion of Canada, of two.

I have been writing as if Canada had been uninhabited when the French took possession of the banks of the St. Lawrence. That is far from having been the case. From Nova Scotia to Columbia, a distance of over 3,000 miles, Canada was occupied by hunting, food-gathering tribes of Red Indians, who many thousands of years before the Caucasians arrived from Europe had themselves been colonists from Asia. The Ottawa confederacy was made up of three strong tribes of fierce fighters, as the early French knew to their cost. North of the Great Lakes were many large tribes arranged in several powerful confederations. At their zenith the Canadian Indians probably never numbered more than 130,000. In 1904 there were 108,000 of them; in 1945, 118,000. They are now (1946) increasing in number; more than ten per cent of them are half-castes. The Indians live apart, on reservations, or in villages of their own; they are to be found in all the provinces of the Dominion. Ultimately they are likely to disappear by absorption into the Caucasian stock. The anthropologist, viewing the colonization of Canada from his own narrow angle, sees in it a territorial gain for the "white" or Caucasian stock, at the expense of the Mongolian family.

From Canada we cross the Pacific to mark the rise of another new nation, that of Australia. The people of this continent are known as Australians and accept this name for themselves. I cavilled at the Yusanians taking the name "American" because in their continent of that name there are twenty-three nations, but in Australia there is only one. Their continent, which has an area of three million square miles, is like Canada in that its area is much greater than its habitability. In the opinion of Professor Griffith Taylor⁵ only about one fifth of it, that is 600,000

square miles, is suitable for close settlement. The habitable lands are to be found in the south-eastern areas of the continent; only there is the rainfall sufficient to meet the needs of the farmer. In 1945 the Australian nation numbered 7.3 millions, which gives an average of twelve persons for each square mile of "suitable" land. It is usually held that the numbers could be raised to fifty inhabitants to the square mile which would give white Australia a population of thirty millions.

When Captain Cook ran up the Union Jack at Botany Bay in 1770 and took possession of the land in the name of his Sovereign Lord, King George III, the whole continent was occupied by an aboriginal race of mankind which had been evolved in that quarter of the earth. The Australian aborigines in 1770 numbered 250,000 to 300,000; their organization was tribal; each tribe had its own territory on which it lived by gathering the natural produce and by hunting. Their tribes, which varied greatly in size, were very numerous; each represented an "independency"—a separate, inbreeding, perpetuating, evolutionary unit. The competition between the tribes for survival was mild and easy: the invasion and seizure by one tribe of the territory of another was almost unknown. By nature they were a cheerful people. Such was the race destined to be replaced by the Australian nation. In the State of Victoria, for example, which has an area of 88,000 square miles, and where about 7,000 aborigines had their abode, only 269 survived in 1943. They have been replaced by nearly two millions of energetic Caucasians. The Australian census of 1933 recorded the existence of 73,000 aborigines on the whole continent, one third of which had Caucasian blood in them. They lose heart when their tribal wheels cease to revolve.

No nation ever began life under less auspicious circumstances than did that of Australia. In January, 1778, after an eight-months' voyage from England, *H.M.S. Sirius* (Admiral Arthur Philips in command), accompanied by nine small transports, sailed between the Sydney Heads, to effect the first white settlement of Australia. In February following 1,030 colonists were put on shore; they were the overflow of English prisons. Lord Sydney, then Secretary for State for the Home Department and responsible for the choice of emigrants, gave the following instruction to Admiral Philips: ⁶ "As I would not wish convicts to lay the

foundations of our Empire, I think they should ever remain separated from the Garrison and from other settlers that may come from Europe. . . . There can be no slavery in a free land." Admiral Philips reported that "no country offers less assistance to the first settlers than does this", but adds "it will prove the most valuable acquisition Great Britain has ever made." From these facts readers will at once realize that British statesmen at the end of the eighteenth century were more concerned in relieving the pressure on their prisons than in nation-building. The "convict-colonists" were intended to supply free settlers with labour; one ought to be thankful that labour was chosen from Britain and not from Africa, India, or China. From the first it was determined that colonists should be of the Caucasian stock and this policy has been steadily pursued by all Australian statesmen.

After 1820 free settlers began to arrive besides the large contingents of convicts, many of whom were guilty of offences now counted venial. By 1829 there were 37,000 settlers (including prisoners) in the neighbourhood of Sydney, New South Wales; at the same date there was in Tasmania, which had its first consignment of convicts in 1804, a population (free and bond) of 17,000. After 1820 British settlers, many of them representatives of the better-off and better-educated people of the homeland, began to arrive. After 1830 settlement was permitted outside the original restricted areas; new arrivals "took up" large tracts of land for sheep and cattle raising; the owners of these "stations" introduced a culture and a tradition not unlike that of the Virginians. But nowhere in Australia was there a community or a tradition equivalent to those of New England.

By 1830 a settlement had been effected in Western Australia—the Swan River Colony—and about the same time prospectors were seeking lands for settlement in South Australia near where Adelaide now stands. These two settlements, in West and in South Australia, passed through many vicissitudes in their earlier phases, but ultimately both survived. Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796–1862) had to do with both of these settlements. He deserves more than a passing notice, for he was the first Englishman to foresee that emigration, rightly managed, might bring into existence a British Commonwealth of nations. Having run away with an heiress (in Chancery), he had to expiate his offence

by spending three years in Newgate prison (1827-30), during which time he planned his schemes of emigration. The public of his time were indifferent to colonies; political economists regarded them as encumbrances. Under Wakefield's scheme "the mother country and the colony would become partners in a new trade—the creation of happy human beings; one country providing the raw material—that is the land; the other providing the machinery—that is the men and women to convert the unpeopled soil into living images of God."⁷ He knew that colonies had to be nursed in their early stage but hoped to make them self-supporting by selling the "native" land and using the proceeds to bring out fresh colonists. We shall meet with Wakefield again when dealing with the early colonization of New Zealand.

In 1851 a strong tide of immigration set in; gold had been discovered and large tracts of land were being freed for new arrivals; by 1891 1,300,000 had come from Europe, the vast majority from the mother country. In the meantime the continent had become divided into provinces; as they came into being responsible government was given to their inhabitants. Tasmania was parted from New South Wales in 1825 and became self-governing in 1856; Victoria was separated from the mother colony (N.S.W.) in 1851, and shouldered its own government in 1856; Queensland was cut off from New South Wales in 1859 and at the same time became responsible for the management of her own affairs. South Australia was recognized as a province in 1836 and as a self-governing colony in 1856. Western Australia received its constitution in 1890. Thus six separate colonies came into existence; in each there was a potential danger of becoming an independent State and Nation. Joseph Chamberlain, who was Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1900, foresaw the danger; he proposed that Australia should copy the plan adopted by the American colonists—namely, that the six colonies should become six federated States, united under a central Government. This plan was adopted in 1901 and in this way the Commonwealth of Australia was brought into existence. Under the pressure of war (1939-45) the constituent States surrendered their liberties to the central Government for a term of seven years, evidence of the existence of a national unity within the Commonwealth.

There is no separate British nation or race within the homeland.

islands; there, we are English, Welsh, Scottish, or Irish; but here in Australia there is a race and nation of British origin. The racial composition of the Australian nation, so far as data gleaned from census returns will permit us to judge, is as follows. Those of British origin make up ninety-seven per cent of the total population; ⁸ only three per cent are traceable to the continental nations of Europe. Of the British, sixty per cent are of English origin; rather more than twenty-three per cent are of Irish parentage; those of Scottish descent number slightly more than fifteen per cent; the Welsh element number two per cent. The British representation in Canada is sixty-nine per cent against ninety-seven per cent in Australia; in both lands the proportion of Irish and of Scots is greater than in the home population; in Canada the Scots outnumber the Irish; in Australia the proportions are reversed. The Australian nation, then, is truly British in its composition; in a new continent and isolated in a strange environment, it will develop its allotted potentialities and become an Australian race.

Although a homogeneous people, the Australians have population problems of their own to solve. They are the trustees of a dying race; a race can save itself only by its own spontaneous efforts; the best of trusteeship can only ameliorate, it cannot restore. Then, they have empty spaces; they have tropical territory in the north, where white men can live and breed, but white men will not toil in the fields at the temperature which prevails there if they can find a home in more temperate lands. The Australian nation suffers from a high standard of living and a low birth-rate. Their States are widely distant from one another; there is the danger of secession. That danger receded as the war of 1939-45 went on; they had to unite to keep out a common enemy. Indeed, if in the crisis of 1941 the Esau of the British family had not come to the rescue, a White policy for Australia might have come to a sudden end.

From Australia we pass to New Zealand to consider the rise of the latest, and probably the last, of British nations. New Zealand, with a total area of over 103,000 square miles, is divided into a North Island with an area of somewhat less than that of England, and a South Island, which exceeds the area of England. In 1945 the Caucasian inhabitants numbered over 1.7 millions, giving a distribution of over sixteen to the square mile. In the course of

a few centuries its population may well be equal to that of the home islands at the present time (forty-seven millions).

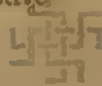
For at least four centuries before the arrival of the British, New Zealand had been inhabited by the Maoris, a robust, tribal people of Polynesian stock. In 1945 they numbered 97,000, a figure which is probably greater than any attained in pre-British times. After their last war with the white colonists (1861-71) they lost heart and their numbers declined. In 1898 there were only 42,000 of them; since then they have more than doubled their numbers. They have their own communities; 4.4 thousand square miles have been reserved for their use. Probably one in seven of the present generation has white blood in his veins. Complete absorption by the white population is a possibility.

In 1814 the British settlement of New Zealand was heralded by the arrival of missionaries in the North Island; they were soon followed by adventurers who obtained grants of land from local chiefs. Scots were early on the scene; so was Wakefield. He, with others, promoted companies in London to acquire land and found colonies. "Everything," said Wakefield, "is to be English, save the soil. . . . The new country is to be made a counterpart of England."⁹ Early in 1840 a Governor was sent out by the Crown and settlement began in earnest. In 1844 the Free Church of Scotland sent out colonists by the thousand to establish a home in the South Island (Otago); the High Church colonists from England settled in the same island at Canterbury to the north of the Scots. In the sixties 50,000 Scandinavians arrived. In 1852 the colonists became responsible for the management of their own affairs; in 1881 the population passed the half-million mark; in 1911 the million mark was reached. In 1907 New Zealand became a Dominion; in 1931, with other British Dominions, she became a self-governing nation, her only remaining tie with the homeland being her allegiance to the British Crown.

The New Zealanders, in their racial composition, are even more British than the Australians. In the census of 1911, it was estimated that ninety-eight per cent of the population was of British origin and no foreign influx has happened since then. The New Zealanders of British origin trace themselves back to the home-countries in the following proportions: sixty per cent to England—the same as in Australia; twenty-one per cent to Scotland, which is eight per cent greater than in Australia;

eighteen per cent to Ireland, five per cent less than in Australia; one per cent to Wales, half the proportion found in Australia. One feature of the New Zealand nation is the strength of the Scottish element; in the home population it represents only ten per cent of the total population, but in New Zealand it has more than twice that proportion. The New Zealanders, too, have established quite a distinctive tradition, differing from that of any of the home nationalities.

The reader who has had the patience to follow me thus far may be inclined to ask: "What has the rise of these New Nations to do with Human Evolution?" Let us consider, in the first place, the evolutionary change produced in the world of humanity by the rise of a Caucasian nation in New Zealand. That land, formerly held by a people of the Mongolian Division of mankind, has been taken over by one belonging to the Caucasian Division. To that extent the composition of the world of humanity has been changed. The Caucasian stock has gained an increased foothold on the earth at the expense of a rival stock. It is in this way that evolutionary changes are being effected, the way in which they have always been brought about; always by one community or people, possessing advantages, replacing another which is without these advantages. Or take the case of Australia; for æons of time it has been in possession of a people belonging to the Australasian Division of humanity; that people has been replaced by a new Caucasian people; the map of humanity has been altered to that extent. Much more drastic are the changes which have been brought about in North America by the intrusion of the Caucasian stock into territories formerly held by tribes of Mongolian derivation. The United States and Canada make up one seventh of the total area of the earth available for human habitation; they have become strongholds for Caucasians; 140 million Europeans have taken the place of little more than a million Red Indians. Never in any period of human history have evolutionary changes taken place so extensively and so rapidly as in the last five centuries. New nations have been brought into existence, nations made up of a combination of old genes; and may we not expect that new genes will in due time make their appearance among the old and that distinctive genes will come into existence? In fresh environments, too, other selective



agencies will come into operation and so help to give these new nations distinctive physical appearances. New races are arising under our eyes.

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ESSAY XLI

RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

THE preceding essay and my eighty-first year having come to an end on the same day, it seemed to me expedient to cast an eye backwards and recapitulate the salient points of my argument before passing on to the remaining part of the field I had intended to cover. First, then, let me retread the path along which my argument has come as briefly as words will permit. Going back to Essay I, the reader will find an outline of my theory of human evolution; its basal idea is that, from the very beginning, man has evolved as a member of a social team or group; that these miniature societies remained apart and were in competition with each other. Essay II is devoted to authors who have anticipated one or more of the ideas which go to make up the "Group Theory" of human evolution. In Essay III evidence is assembled to prove that in all parts of the earth mankind is now, or was at a former period, divided into a mosaic of small, isolated communities. In Essay IV the importance and the antiquity of "territorialism" as a factor in evolution is discussed; each social group considered itself the absolute owners of the land on which it lived. In these earlier essays it is postulated that man's evolution is divisible into two distinct but unequal periods. There was first the long *primal* period when mankind was separated into small local groups or communities; this period is estimated to have lasted at least a million years. It was during the primal period that man made his major evolutionary advances. The *post-primal* period began with the discovery of agriculture. Although the post-primal period has endured for less than 10,000 years it has led to a revolution in the mode of human evolution.

The essays which begin with V and end with XIII form a series devoted to a single subject—namely, the rise of the mentality which characterized the "evolutionary units" or isolated local groups of humanity during the primal period. The sources

which provide information as to the mentality of early man are three in number. There is first the mentality of social groups of anthropoid apes which may be assumed to be older than that of human beings; the second sources come from the study of primitive peoples still living in the group stage of existence; the developing mentality of the modern child provides the third source of information. Essay V is devoted to an analysis of the "group spirit"—the mental bonds which keep the members of a group united and at the same time keep them apart from members of neighbouring groups. Patriotism comes up for consideration in Essay VI, particularly its importance as a factor in the evolution of groups. Patriotism, it is held, is similar in nature to all of man's inborn tendencies or predispositions and is made up of two elements. The disposition to love one's native land is inborn—the country loved depending on the accident of birth. Essay VII gives my reasons for believing that in primitive human groups mentality was so fashioned as to combine co-operation and competition into an effective instrument of evolution. It is assumed in Essay VIII that man has been evolved from a stock in which conduct was controlled by instinct, but that in him these have become changed into biases or predispositions. These innate predispositions are all directed towards the survival and perpetuation of the group or community. There is thus more than a grain of truth in the aphorism that "the species is wise."

Man's nature resents injury and seeks for retaliation and revenge. The role which revenge plays in keeping primitive groups apart is discussed in Essay IX. In this essay I take the opportunity of illustrating how an instinctive reaction intended primarily for the defence of the individual becomes transferred to serve in the defence of the group or tribe. The tribesman regards an injury to his tribe as one done to himself. Here, too, we come across the principle of collective responsibility and of collective justice, which serve so efficiently to keep the members of a group united. Perhaps the most potent of all the mental factors which mould the destiny of a group is that of ambition, or the search for status, which is the subject of Essay X. Primitive man, like modern man, sought to slake his personal ambition by placing it at the service of his group. Primitive groups were ambitious for power; the greater their man-power the more

certain their survival. In the search for individual status within a group, public or group opinion is all important. There was a constant rivalry between groups for status, so securing inter-group competition. In Essay XI, it is shown how all these emotions, feelings, and predispositions which go to make up "human nature" co-operate to give government to a group—a government which seems automatic. Human nature has been evolved in such a way as to serve as an instrument of evolution. Essay XII opens up a subject of outstanding importance—that of leadership. The qualities which go to make one man a leader and another a follower are assumed to be inborn. To give a rightly balanced group, leaders must be few and followers numerous. The series dealing with the mentality of primitive groups comes to an end with Essay XIII, in which morality is discussed. The most striking feature of primitive morality is its dual nature; always we find that the conduct of primitive man is regulated by two codes of morality; his conduct towards fellow-members is based on a code of amity, while that towards members of outside groups is based on that of enmity. The author infers that a dual morality has conferred advantages on evolving communities.

In Essay XIV another field of inquiry is entered; our attention now becomes centred on the means by which structural and functional changes are brought about in the bodies and brains of evolving human beings; we are now in search of the "machinery of evolution." This search continues through Essays XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, and XX. In Essay XIV the author compares the machinery of evolution which holds in the motor-car or automobile world with that which prevails in the human world and finds that in both of these there is a triple process at work—namely, production, competition, and selection. Lamarck and Darwin believed that hereditary structural changes could be brought about by use and wont; this doctrine is not accepted by the author. In Essay XV it is claimed that a multitude of small, isolated, inbreeding, competing groups provides the most favourable conditions for rapid evolutionary change. In primitive societies choice of mates was confined within the group, thus favouring inbreeding. As long as genes are healthy inbreeding is advantageous. Inbreeding favours the production of new local types; even in modern communities where there is no limitation

in the choice of mates, marriages tend to be contracted within the same locality, thus giving rise to local breeds.

The machinery of evolution which brings about the differentiation of mankind into races is of the same nature as that which determines the differentiation of human beings into men and women (Essay XVIII). In both cases the substances which serve as "determiners" or hormones are formed in the body during its development and growth; they have the power of altering structure as well as function. In man, as in the great anthropoids, hormones act so as to give the male preponderance in mass of body and in strength. If the testicles are removed from the young male, then, because of the hormonal disturbance, he becomes radically changed both in appearance and in mentality. Darwin sought to explain the differences which separate one variety of mankind from another, such as those which distinguish a Negro from a European, as being a result of sexual selection (Essay XIX), but the opinion which prevails to-day is that these differences must be attributed to the action of hormones. Hormones, then, form an important part of the machinery of evolution.

In Essay XX a cardinal principle in human evolution is broached. During its development the human embryo recapitulates certain ancestral traits, but, amid these ancestral traits there are interpolated features which are new—features which never have had an existence in the adult state but await an opportunity, as it were, to be carried into that state. The same is true in the developmental stages of anthropoid apes. Features which appear in anthropoids during only their foetal existence have become permanent characters in the human body. In anthropoids there is a tendency to prolong all the preparatory phases of life—the duration of pregnancy, the phase of childhood, and the period of youth and of growth. This tendency has reached its climax in the human family. It is the great prolongation of the preparatory periods which has provided man with the opportunity of becoming the most unique member of the animal kingdom.

Between the highest form of anthropoid and the lowest of living human beings, there is a wide gap. This blank in our knowledge is being partly filled by the discovery of the fossil remains of beings which serve to link man to an anthropoidal

ancestry. The time seems ripe for postulating the various steps or stages by which man made this transition. These stages are dealt with in the six essays which begin with XXI and end with XXVI. To this series also belong Essay XVII, which is entitled "The Contrasted Fate of Ape and Man." I found it expedient to introduce this essay at an earlier point of my argument because I wanted to show how the human posture had been derived from that of the anthropoid and also because it was necessary to give the geological time-scale against which the missing stages were postulated. If the Darwinian theory of man's origin is true, then there must have been a stage that was neither ape nor man, but something half-way between them. That stage has now been found and is discussed in Essay XXI. In Essay XXII it is inferred that the ground-living anthropoids, which provided the ancestry of man, were evolved in Africa and from there slowly spread into all the continents of the Old World. By the beginning of the Pleistocene period primitive forms of humanity had come into being in widely separated regions of Asia and Europe; these early forms of mankind are regarded as descendants of the African ground-living anthropoids (Essay XXIII). Accepting the African theory of human origin, an explanation is given of the division of mankind into five major varieties, each variety occupying its own continental area (Essay XXIV). The manner in which each of these varieties came by their racial characters is discussed in Essay XXV. In the essay which follows (XXVI) the living races of mankind are traced back to a separate origin from early Pleistocene ancestors. In their more recent phases the diverse types of mankind have tended, not to diverge farther and farther from each other in points of structure, but to converge—to become more like to each other.

With Essay XXVII we pass from the primal to the post-primal phase of human evolution—from small local groups living on the produce of their territories, to larger "evolutionary units" which have learned to till the soil and make it capable of supporting increased numbers. Every stage in the transformation of the local independent group of primal times into the multi-millions of modern times can be traced. In Essay XXVIII the credit for the introduction of agriculture is given to the Caucasians who lived on the Iranian plateau; the date of the discovery may have been as early as the eighth millennium B.C. The rise of city-



States from local village settlements is traced in Babylonia, Mesopotamia and Assyria (Essay XXIX). City-States represented tribes rather than nations. The local groups (nomes) of Egypt became amalgamated to form a nation with the union of the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt in 3200 B.C. I give my reasons for regarding the Egyptians as a nation (Essay XXX). Egypt is the home of the oldest surviving nation. In Essay XXXI I trace the evolution of a modern nation in Europe, choosing that of Scotland to illustrate my thesis. A nation always replaced a myriad of local groups, but the mentality and evolutionary behaviour of a nation is that of a primal local group.

With Essay XXXII I enter a field of fierce debate. Misunderstandings have arisen from the disputants using the term "race" in opposite senses. Orthodox anthropologists restrict the term race to a people which is physically distinguishable from other peoples, whereas in its original, and also in its everyday use, the term is applied to a separate people who believe, and feel, that they are different from surrounding peoples from whom they are not distinguishable by physical appearances. A nation, then, if we use the term "race" in its original significance, is a race. A race is a contestant in the field of evolution; that is the essential characteristic of a people claiming to be a separate race. I find that the only clearly differentiated races in Europe are its nations (Essay XXXIII). They compete against one another for survival. To illustrate the manner in which nationalism serves as a factor in the evolution of peoples I have passed in review the manifestations of nationalism met with in Wales (XXXIV).

In Essay XXV I have carried my readers to South Africa to study, at first hand, the nature and manifestations of the various forms of racialism which are met with in a land occupied by many peoples of diverse origin. Nationalism and racialism are closely akin and are both traceable to the same evolutionary root. Then follows my survey of another manifestation of the national spirit—that of self-determination. I have sought to analyse the mental manifestations which accompany the process of self-determination by describing those shown in recent times by the people of the Irish Free State (Essay XXXVI). I then go on to consider the peculiar case of the Jews (Essays XXXVII–XXXVIII). They are a nation, but whereas other nations are held together by their territory Jews maintain their nationhood although devoid

of territory. The Jews are also a race; anti-Semitism is a virulent form of racialism.

With Essay XXXIX I enter another field of anthropological inquiry, the rise of new nations in the modern world. The people of the United States of America illustrate nation building on a continental scale—a new phenomenon in the evolutionary history of mankind. I have given my reasons for regarding that people, not only as a nation but as a race, a new race of unmeasured potency. In Essay XL the theme of nation building is pursued; the rise of two nations is traced in Canada, the Canadian French and the Canadian British. Then the peoples of Australia and of New Zealand are considered as nations and as potential races. The Australians and New Zealanders are the only new peoples who are completely British in their origin and could claim, were they so minded, to be the only true representatives of a British race. All of these new nations have replaced native peoples of diverse stocks. These great extensions of the Caucasian stock into wide areas of the habitable world have altered the racial balance of mankind. New races are being brought into being; old races are being eliminated. It is in this way that all evolutionary changes have been carried out in the world of humanity. In primal times these changes were effected in a slow and gradual manner; in the post-primal world their tempo was quickened; in the modern world they proceed at an unprecedented rate. Every century sees the anthropological map of the world redrawn to a greater or less degree; he who would realize the rate of human evolution must keep his eye on the anthropological map.

It was not my original intention to bring this book to an end with Essay XL; I had accumulated materials which threw light on other aspects of human evolution and which I had hoped to make the subjects of additional essays. Two considerations led to a change of mind. One was that I had carried out the promise made in the Preface to this book—I had expounded “a new theory of human evolution” and I had given nations and races their appropriate settings in a world of evolving humanity. The other consideration was this: if the evidence I have produced in these forty essays fails to convince my critics, it is very unlikely that the supplementary evidence I intended to bring forward in—

my additional essays would have had that happy effect. So I resolved to stop.

It may interest some of my readers if I give a list of the subjects I proposed to discuss in the additional essays. That which was to follow Essay XL was to deal with the score of new nations which arose in the New World with the dismemberment of the Spanish and Portuguese Empires. These provide an opportunity of discussing the origin of new races by hybridization. Having surveyed the new nations of America, it was my intention to return to the continent of Europe and deal with its two predominant peoples—the Germans and the Russians. At the present time (1947) the Germans are under the harrow of subjection, but they are too strong and resilient a race to remain there. The Russians now move from strength to strength, both in numbers and in military power, but in the organization of their Empire, for the United Soviet Republics are of that nature, there are anthropological weaknesses which will become apparent as time goes on.

Then I was to return to two ancient peoples I purposely omitted from the series of essays included in this volume. After dealing with the city-States of Babylonia (Essay XXX) the natural order of procedure would have been to move to Ancient Greece, but I postponed consideration of her case, and also that of Rome, in order that I might pursue the rise of modern nations. It was my intention to trace the rise of city-States in Greece, their overthrow by national Macedonia, and the wasteful conquests made in Asia by Alexander the Great. Greece sacrificed herself on the altar of civilization. Having considered the fate of Greece, I intended to move to ancient Rome and consider her Empire from an anthropologist's point of view. The Roman Empire lacked that to which a student of evolution attaches the highest value—durability. Despised Egypt possessed this quality; proud Rome failed to attain it. Egypt, China, and India had, and have, the power of self-perpetuation. In a previous book, *Essays on Human Evolution* (1946), I have dealt with the cases of China and India.

There remained one major anthropological problem of the modern world I have always approached with some degree of hesitation as well as of trepidation—the fate of native peoples. What is to happen ultimately to the tribal folks of Africa and of

Australasia? If Europeans had left them alone, they would have worked out their evolutionary fate in their own way. The modern world could not afford to leave them alone; the great hungry maw of civilization had to be fed and native co-operation in this task was deemed a necessity which white men had a right to demand. When white men bring European ways of life into native communities, tribal wheels cease to revolve; the tribe or community becomes disorganized, loses heart, and often dies out. European governments may disarm their approach to natives by assuming a trusteeship and hope, in this way, to make native communities into independent self-governing nationalities. Artificially created nations have no power of endurance; when exposed to the fierce winds of an evolutionary workaday world they fall to pieces. A people can be made strong only by its own efforts and by the exercise of its own will power. Even if the humanitarian spirit which now pervades nations succeeds in bringing all mankind under a single government, the final destiny of native races will still remain in doubt. The racial balance of the world is in process of evolutionary change.

As subjects of additional essays there remained for consideration a number of matters which have played a part in bringing about evolutionary changes in nations and races. Economics has served, and does serve, as a factor in evolution; so does industry; sea power has been and is a potent influence in the development of peoples; the same is true of religion; colonization has also a meaning for the anthropologist. The destiny of a people is under the guidance of statesmen and politicians; politics and statecraft are thus factors in man's evolution. Eugenics, which is the science of nation-planning, is also a branch of anthropological science.

What of the Future? Is nationalism merely a passing phenomenon? Will nations be ultimately swallowed up in a universal government? I dare not look forward for more than a few centuries; within this limited period I feel confident that nationalism, far from weakening, will grow ever stronger. Modern nations are still imperfectly nationalized; the process will not cease until every nation is integrated into a unity such as was met with in the evolutionary units of primal humanity. Nations are giving lip-service to the U.N.O., but everywhere we find them searching for economic independence and self-sufficiency, and

strengthening the social bonds and services which give unity and solidarity to nations. Everywhere nations become more national in thought and in deed.

In writing this book my chief object has been to bring home to my readers that the evolution of mankind is not something which happened long ago and far away but is happening here and now under our eyes. In the clash and turmoil which disturbs the peace of the modern world we are hearing the creaking wheels of the "machinery of evolution."

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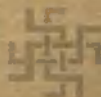
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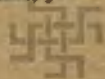
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